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THE MASQUE OF ANCIENT LEARNING

BY PATRICK GEDDES

PATRICK GEDDES AND COLLEAGUES
OUTLOOK TOWER EDINBURGH

FOURTH EDITION. SIXTH THOUSAND

THE MASQUES OF LEARNING

The Masque of Learning, in its initial form, was prepared to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of University Hall, Edinburgh. It was performed—by about 650 active participants, as players, orchestra and choir — in the Synod Hall, Edinburgh, on 14th to 16th March 1912, and repeated on a later evening for pupils of the schools of Edinburgh. Increasingly large numbers, at length amounting to thousands, failed to obtain admission.

Encouraged by the interest of all ages and classes of the community, its organisers, performers and designer, instead of dispersing, have formed themselves into an Association, unlimited in constitution and in ambitions, who now announce themselves as 'The Edinburgh Masquers, Outlook Tower.'

Their original Masque of Learning has been revised, extended by the addition of a full score of new scenes, and developed into (I) the Masque of Ancient Learning; and (II) the Masque of Medieval and Modern Learning. Each Masque is complete within itself, and may be visited and understood apart from its fellow; yet the two make up a more comprehensive presentment than has before been attempted upon any stage, of main phases and salient events in the long and changeful history of civilisation. In short, the two present Masques thus embody an outline of the World-Pageant—of Education, of Learning, of Culture, of Human Advance.

THE MASQUE OF ANCIENT LEARNING
AND ITS MANY MEANINGS

WITH A
SUGGESTED REPERTORY OF FUTURE M

THE MASQUE OF ANCIENT LEARNING

AND ITS MANY MEANINGS

A PAGEANT OF EDUCATION FROM PRIMITIVE TO CELTIC TIMES DEVISED AND INTERPRETED BY PATRICK GEDDES

PATRICK GEDDES & COLLEAGUES
THE OUTLOOK TOWER EDINBURGH
1913

GENERAL PROGRAMME OF THE MASQUES OF LEARNING

THE endeavour of the Masques of Learning is to present a historic Pageant of characteristic scenes illustrative of the progress of culture, and of the history of education—each in the widest sense.

I.—THE MASQUE OF ANCIENT LEARNING

After a brief and explanatory scene as Prologue, the Masque starts from the earliest ages of evolving man—for what is the one essential of education, in all times and lands, but the communication of experience from age to youth?

Its main presentment begins with essential aspects of the great Oriental civilisations, and proceeds, through Greek and Roman periods, to Celtic times. It is concluded with an appropriate Epilogue scene.

II.—THE MASQUE OF MODERN LEARNING

begins with the Fall of Rome, and proceeds, through characteristic scenes from the Middle ages and Medi- eriods, to the Renaissance and the Encyclopedic It concludes with a scene expressive of the nt and the Opening Future.

In each of these great periods of thought and action, one or more of its memorable moments, its characteristic movements, will be represented. Each group of scenes, with its typical and historic figures, is thus in principle itself a pageant, commemorating main achievements of an epoch of civilisation.

In each of these main phases of culture its simple origins, its high culmination and achievment are expressed—its ideals at their best, its decadence with loss of these. All this varied history has made up the Complex Heritage and Burden of the intellectual world—from School-Bag to Library.

I. The Masque of Ancient Learning

AFTER an explanatory Prologue, the Masque starts with Prehistoric Man: the mastering of fire, the progress from hunting to agriculture, the rise of the family, the dawn of science, the struggle with fear.

Next are presented the beginnings of City-life, taken from the Babylonian culture; its confusion with the Tower of Babel; its eclipse by Assyrian militarism.

From ancient Egypt are illustrated anew the rise of civilisation from nature and labour—the peasant's yearly needs evoking land-surveying, and this geometry, until the Egyptian Temple-University results. A Funeral Procession illustrates the elaboration of Egyptian religion and ritual, and symbolises that overpowering of life by death which is the tragedy of later periods also.

The story of Israel, so familiar in Scottish education, is given increased prominence. Moses and the emancipation of Israel are again presented, the Wisdom (and also folly) of Solomon, and other new scenes are introduced; notably that Finding of the Law, to which critics now give such significance; and that contrast of Priest and Prophet which is characteristic of the history of Israel, and recurs in all times and lands.

The enduring civilisation of China is commemorated; and, more fully, the ancient cultures of India—Hindu, Buddhist, and Parsi. These Oriental scenes are again carried out, and for China and India almost

entirely, by students belonging by race and tradition to their respective groups.

Coming to Western origins, the fullest presentment of the Masque is that of Hellas. First, upon the normal background of nature and labour comes the undying song of Homer, the choric dance of youth, the evocation of Heroes and Gods, of Goddesses and Muses. Next, the procession of historic Greece, with its founders of modern science and medicine, of philosophy and politics, of architecture, sculpture and drama ; and, above all, of City and citizenship.

Again for Rome, a broadly comprehensive outline of her world-central achievements and influence. These, as always, form their origins in labour and its virtues ; and thence to their rustic and urban developments—in colonisation and constructiveness, in world-communications, in justice and in peace from Clyde to Euphrates : an inspiring citizenship and humanism in one.

It is time next to realise that our own regional heritage, that of the Celtic world, which once stretched from Galatia to Gaul, and on either side beyond, was no mere Barbarian darkness, but had also its life and light ; and that its survivals, from Brittany and Wales to Ireland and our own Highlands preserve to this day the embers of their ancient and sacred fires. Fairylands and mythic paradises, memories of beauty and heroism, types of chivalry and saintship, live on unforgotten ; nay, once and again these have revived in ardent souls, and gone forth to civilise their conquerors, to guide them anew to meditation and learning, to spirituality and poetry, to lead them in art and song. A Celtic Epilogue will therefore end the Ancient Masque.

II. The Masque of Medieval and Modern Learning

(See fuller description, published separately, uniform with this volume.)

THIS second Masque opens with the Barbarian celebration of victories over Rome and Britain alike, which seemed to all at the time the final overthrow both of Romans and of Christian civilisation.

It next recalls that even more stupendous uprush and expansion of the Mohammedan world, whose changing tides have been, even to this day, so significant a factor of European history.

Yet in subsequent scenes these formidable forces are shown as far from wholly destructive, but as mingling in those new and fruitful combinations of Oriental and Mediterranean, Celtic and Teutonic elements which have given their variety and inexhaustible romance to the Middle Ages.

Hence our many contrasts of the cloister and the world, of hermit, monk and friar, of burgher and knight, wizard and scholar. The medieval fair, the rise of Universities and Colleges, &c., are presented; and the Middle Ages end with a new scene, the Apotheosis of Medieval Learning.

The splendid Renascence is next shown forth, at first in its small but significant beginnings—in the prison of Roger Bacon, in the laboratory of the alchemist, and with the first printing-press. Then the stately and cultivated Courts—that of Lorenzo the Magnificent, that of Isabella sending out Columbus. Henry VIII receives More with Erasmus and Holbein. James VI founds the University of Edinburgh; and later, as James I, receives Bacon, Shakespeare and the Translators—surely the supreme conjunction in English literature.

Napier at his logarithms in Merchiston Castle, young Milton visiting Galileo at F'orence, are again among the new scenes which expre he development of science, or its interaction wit letters and arts. Final scenes express the decadence of education, to its too recent levels.

The Encyclopedic age is next illustrated, from the most brilliant moments of Sweden, of France and of Scotland, of England, and of Germany, culminating in the Apotheosis of Beethoven.

The final act sums up in spectacular procession and grouping the Present of University and City; and once more recalls typical figures from the undying Past. Finally, it attempts to shadow forth possible elements of the opening Future; and this as no mere blank or hazard, but as the accumulation and momentum of Past and Present; and thus hence-forward ours to steer.

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GENERAL CONCEPTION OF THE MASQUE

THE MASQUES OF LEARNING

PROLOGUE TO THE SERIES: THE SCHOOL BAG

Scene.—The street, outside the Portal of the University. Boy enters, swinging his school-bag; he pauses and looks in dubiously, thinking of the matriculation examination for which he is preparing.

A friendly Professor accosts him, and asks what he is doing at school. The Boy shows his crowded bag.

The Professor take out the books one by one and musingly explains them—to himself, as well as to the boy:—

This overgrown arithmetic book is the very spirit of the commercial and financial age: this old examination paper bears the stamp of its bureaucracy: and this cram-book to prepare for it is the encyclopædia in miniature.

All this reading in living languages, English, French, and German, has come on from the golden moment of the Renaissance; and the grammars and lexicon are from its silver age. Here is an essay, dated yesterday; yet with unmistakable traces of the medieval thesis and disputation.

Virgil and Homer; the heritage of Rome, of Greece. The Bible; it renews the voices of the patriarchal world.

What's this? New story-book? Not really new, nor yet trivial or contraband: it is continuing the tradition begun 'once upon a time': for the tale-teller comes from the remote unwritten past of folk-lore.

A fresh apple; a new ball! These are the oldest of all. For this is the raw food, and that the ready missile of Primeval Man.

Boy—If all this be in my school-bag, what must there be in the University, and its big Library?

Professor—The same, only more fully. A book is not merely a fossil or a treasure from some phase of the past. Its right reading—not the words from without, but the thought from within—is a spell by which you may recall this past, re-enter it when you will. This test of this power of reading is the old matriculation examination, and the coming one too. It must be made by the aspirant, and not merely of him. Will you try it?

Boy—Yes. How?

Professor—The spell is simple: the reason why so many fail is by using only one or the other half of it. You must throw your ball and with all your might; and eat the apple of knowledge also: only by help of both can you or any youth get so far as that earliest development of conscious man. To take either alone is a fall, an evil: it is a real enchantment, an arrest—for some by the brute's strength, for others at the parrot's memory.

But with this elementary education, with apple and ball, of mind and body together, one's higher education goes on with the world's. Term by term the spell continues to work; the pageant goes on opening, phase by phase; each lives again, by the magic of its rightly read book.

[Lapsing readily into his habitual lecturing style, he proceeds (not noticing that Boy is meanwhile falling asleep):—]

This pageant of learning opens as new for each fresh student, not because he is ignorant, but because it is immortal. When to any one it seems old, and

fixed, it is a sign that they are growing fixed and therefore old themselves. Old explanations may be well worth handing on, but fresh interpretations are ever needed, and must be sought for also.

Here then, we may make one book more, mingled like our University lectures. There are things simple; fundamental, accepted, which every student, if not every school boy, should know—but also such personal suggestions and interpretations as may stir the student to think in his turn, whether he agree or no.

To-morrow this book will recall the scenes your spell will now call up. It links the books of the bag you are going to put away to those of the library you are to open. Look at it once more when the time comes to leave the University; for there is in it a second clue, leading out from the Library into the World, and linking University and City together.

Enough talk now of books: (Boy suddenly wakes up). It is time for you to try the spell.

(Boy throws the ball, proceeds to devour the apple, and thus matriculates as Student: the Pageant opens accordingly.)

Students and passers-by collect as spectators. The professor takes the opportunity of improving the occasion, and announces each scene as it descends from the University Library. He goes on explaining, commenting, and musing, and sometimes interjects a thesis for a passing colleague. A woman student swiftly takes notes; a printer speedily sets them up; and the results are as follow.

'Let us now praise famous men.'

THE MASQUE OF ANCIENT LEARNING

IN SOME OF ITS MANY MEANINGS

PRIMITIVE FOLK

Nature and the Beginnings of Civilisation.
Life tree in background.
Water Nymph followed by spirits of Nature and by Pan. The dance of Nature and Life: Child humanity.

Mother follows seeking child.
Hunter with game and hound. Young woman stanches hunter's wound with herbs; then gives him apple.
Older women, with rude sheaf and distaff. The women croon a song. Man twangs his bow. Primitive occupations of sexes; Labour and Rhythm.

The Mastery of Fire: Women make the hearth. The family circle forms.
The Mission of Prometheus.
The Dawn of Science.

The Struggle with Fear.
Prometheus Bound, and Unbound.

NATURE and her forms of plant and animal life constitute the earliest environment for human activity and experience; they are the enduring base and background of these, and are therefore constantly associated with their progress. Hence each new uprise of civilisation, each great cultural advance, up to that of science in our own day, has been associated with a 'Return to Nature.'

These fundamental nature-conditions are therefore symbolised by the Life-Tree and the surrounding

faunlike creatures, in which folk-lore as well as classic tradition abound, and which modern evolutionary speculation revives. Our presentment of this childhood of the world of course makes no attempt at scientific form: yet its psychology may be more obvious than its biology. For from this approach evolution is coming to be seen again as of old, as a Dance of Life, and no longer merely in terms of struggle for bare existence, to which an epoch obsessed by economic mythologies has so long been restricting it.

Distinct, however, from these shadowy shapes, stand out the Primitive Folk of archæologist and anthropologist. Our first tableau necessarily expresses that division of labour of the sexes with which civilisation begins:—Man as hunter, with game and hound: Woman as fruit-gatherer, a primitive Eve; and as herbalist, initiating surgery and medicine.

To them enters a maturer figure, with a rough sheaf, expressing that agricultural initiative, which was idealised by the Greeks in Demeter, by the Romans in Ceres, which has been commemorated until our own day in 'the Corn-Maiden' of the harvest-field, and is still by anthropologists ascribed to Woman. The age of Culture-Heroines is in fact fully beginning.

The invention of the woman's quern and distaff, of the man's bow and arrow, involve new labours. Each of these, as it grows more skilled and more familiar, finds its essential rhythm and utterance; and these are the beginnings of dance and song. Even musical accompaniment appears, in the twanging of the bow, which has been the fruitful germ of all stringed instruments. In the same way the horn or shell, the drum, the pipe, in which lies the germ of

the organ, even the vibrating splinter which is an incipent dulcimer and therefore piano, may readily be imagined; in fact, the evolution of all kinds of music has begun.

These incipient muses not only discipline labour to endurance; they advance its skill; they cheer and strengthen companionship; they lighten toil into joy.

Here also philologists find a main factor in the beginnings of articulate speech, each labour rhythm and its 'chanty' evolving one of these characteristic root-verbs which are fundamental to the developments of language.

Next may be expressed the further great uplift which civilisation owes to the mastery of fire. A youth suddenly arises from his flint-chipping: the primitive Prometheus—later so nobly idealised by Hellenic folk-lore, and by later drama. At first burned by the new energy he has evoked, he at length learns to control it. He places a glowing ember within the hollow stem (still called Pramatha in Cyprus); and then goes forth to his fellow-tribesmen with his gift; alike so much more perilous to his fellows and himself than he foresees, however promising for the future. Fore-runner of Hellas, he must first be its martyr. The women make and tend the hearth; the older as housewife, the younger as her fire-maiden, the future vestal. Her task awakes intelligence; her intuitive powers increase; her inventive genius brightens; she is more and more the coming Pallas.

With the elder woman develops the family circle, with its kindness and warmth, its concentration also. Her motherliness as 'Urmutter,' her dignity as Matriarch alike appear. Her man recognises, appreciates, this development of woman; and to express it, he takes the gold bracelet from his arm, and twists it

anew into a coronet, which he places on her brow. Thus honouring and idealising woman, he is now lover, artist, poet: and thus are kindled lights upon the upward way surpassing yet accompanying the Promethean fire.

Such a simple scene may also suffice to express the coming mastery of metals, as literally dawning with the golden age. The next may suggest the dawn of art, with the draughtsman of the wild beast. Another expresses the dawn of abstract science, and the invention of writing together. The hunter holds up his hand with spread fingers against the distance, watched by the group around the fire. He is counting something—enemies, head of game, or what not. He marks off their number finger by finger to his companions, one of whom tallies with pebbles, and another keeps pace by scratching on a stick with his flint knife. Arithmetic, and even the essentials of its Roman Notation have come to stay. In such rude beginnings not only Oghams and other rude inscriptions have begun but the Libraries and School-Bags of later civilisations.

The psychologist increasingly tells us (and here may not every one be also his own psychologist!) how, with the struggle, the survival or extinction of life, and this at all its levels and phases, there is profoundly connected the primal emotion of Fear. The folk-lorist and the anthropologist take up the tale; and, ever since classic times, they have passed this on to the student of comparative religion, who in his turn traces fear through its innumerable manifestations and outcomes, now base, now high. An elemental illustration is therefore necessary, and this not only for our immediate scene but for the Masque and its meanings.

In the group around the fire, amid their real and rapid progress so essentially civilised, a woman spies an ominous shadow, lurking, stealthily flitting around. She communicates her nascent fears; others laugh it away; but the threatening shape approaches, and bursts forth into the firelight. Before its wild, unwonted raiment, its sinister, colossal mask, its menacing gestures and dance, now swift, now slow, but ever pressing nearer, the group wavers. It bursts upon them, with appalling noise and outcry, with uplifted death-symbol, of skull with flaring eyes. The hapless folk break up and flee, the horror pursuing.

Infant Humanity is abandoned, asleep. He awakes and trembles at his solitude; he quails and turns before the shape, now returning to attack him: then takes courage, faces it, advances upon it, and thus drives it back in turn. He drags off the cloak; it drops its mask; and it is now seen all the while to have been Pan.

Humanity sets out on his way to seek his scattered kindred: Nature is now no longer terror and bogey, but his friendly, even subservient companion. He comes on Prometheus, whose high mission has fared hardly. He is bound to a rock, and with his fire laid to smoulder upon his own body: type of coming discoverers and inventors. Humanity unties his bonds and delivers him. Indomitable, he uplifts his torch anew; and Prometheus, Youth, and Pan now go on together. An obvious symbolism also, and a brighter one. Through later history, at present, and it may be for long in the future also, it is by such broken steps that winds on the long, eventful, ever-arrested, ever-renewing Ascent of Man.

BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS

Peasant Life and its Dangers: their needed wall of defence, within which develops the city.
The Star Tower. Measurement of Space and Time. The Seasons.

Khammarabi and his Code.

The Tower of Babel.

Assyrian Conquest: its consequences, in Art and History; its effects upon the conquered.

THE peaceful, indeed initially feminine art of agriculture has well-nigh constantly suffered from the aggressions of the hunting people, so much more naturally war-like. Our scene therefore opens with peasants harvesting; they are set upon by hunters, and flee; one is slain. The victors carry off the bulk of the crop.

Hence the need of building a defensive wall; and the ditch, the future moat, is the necessary accompaniment of this. This involves regular labour of a very different and more continuous kind than the peasant's, a further regulation also, of workers, of process and product alike. The architect's plan and measurement thus arise, and the builder's organisation of labourers also. Both functions are discharged by the astronomer-priest; so that the economic rest-day and its idealisation proceed together. Beyond measurement of time by day and week and lunar month, his most important service to the community, his authority correspondingly also, lie in his observation and forecast of the seasons, of sowing time especially.

In such ways, and in far more detail than space admits even of outlining, astronomy, architecture and agriculture progress together, and with them town-life also. As population grows, more and more intensive culture becomes requisite, irrigation provides for this, and hence the astronomer becomes a civil engineer.

As population increases, and the great city develops, new tasks and problems arise on every hand; and each step in progress carries others with it; each difficulty is an opportunity also.

Hence the early appearance of the great law-giver is natural enough; that is, the conditions both in public needs and for his personal development are now increasingly plain. In our typical scene Khummarabi, the Moses or Manu of the Babylonians, enters in meditation. Rightly recognising the fundamental importance of the astronomic culture, he shares its idealisation also: so for every reason he ascends the star-tower for initiation by the astronomer-priest. He descends to judgment-seat; a culprit is brought in, for choice a hunter corresponding to the robber of the previous scene. He hears accuser and witness; the culprit confesses, prostrates himself, and craves for mercy. Khummarabi consults his Code inscribed upon bricks, pronounces sentence; and the doomed man is led away. The law-giver then proceeds with the dictation of his Code to scribe, who literally inscribes it upon a cylinder.

In our next scene a crowd of Babylonians is in clamorous discussion: the leading orator points contemptuously to the old star-tower, for the time vacant, if not abandoned, and suggests by gestures, the building of a far greater. This is decided by acclamation; and they proceed to build the Tower of Babel, which rises storey by storey up to the proscenium level and beyond—but by and by falls with crash and consternation. 'Tohu-Bohu,' and kindred cries fill the air, and the once so orderly and diligent citizens are now a chattering and quarreling mob; with all the faults of over-individualism also. Mob-psychology has here in fact its earliest presentment, indeed it may be doubted if the criticism of democracy and individualism

has ever gone much further than in this old-world example of it. For the topplings of lofty syntheses or the mutual unintelligibility of modern specialisms, and so on, this old satiric tale is ever adaptable.

As the mob-clamour subsides, there appears above the central entrance steps, the genius of Assyria, eagle-headed, four-winged, a towering and formidable shape, whose grim presence silences all in fear. And with reason; the Assyrian bowmen and spearmen of the monuments march in; they slay or bind the babblers.

In the next scene we are in Nineveh: the winged war-genius there before us. Sennacherib is enthroned: his herald proclaims victories over Babylon, Samaria, and Jerusalem. The king instructs his scribe to record his victories, and his sculptor to commemorate them; and the public libraries, monuments, art-galleries of the world are thus begun. (In many later cities, a first impression shows how largely they may continue upon these levels—witness Versailles, for choice, or indeed Berlin also.)

Enter now captives: a long chain of Babylonians and Israelites. Their kings kneel: Sennacherib takes an arrow from his armour-bearer and puts out their eyes with his own hand. The captives are led out to slavery: the Babylonians with dispairing cries and gestures, or in silence. But an Israelite raises his voice in psalm, which soon is swelled into chorus, and only sinks with distance:—'Yea though I walk in death's dark vale, yet shall I fear no ill.' Of the spiritual uses of adversity to the nobler natures of a defeated people, and for the high accentuation of its nationality also, the example of the Babylonian captivity is the supreme example, yet among many.

EGYPTIANS

Isis and Thoth.—In the background, during the scene, Isis, goddess of Nature, and mother-type of humanity. Also Thoth, god of letters, and dispenser of intellectual gifts to men, holding scales of Judgment and key of Life.

Rope-Stretching.—Peasants quarrel over their boundary. Priest calls in rope-stretchers; the measurements are taken down by Scribe; peace is restored.

Funeral Procession.

Our brief selections from the great past of historic Egypt, which a century of excavation and decipherment has so largely been recovering, start as will be our wont from the humble fundamentals of nature and labour. After the yearly inundation of the Nile, the peasants, to avoid quarrels over effaced boundaries, must have such difficulties settled by measurement anew. Thus 'rope-stretching' becomes a hieroglyph for land-surveying, and even for the geometry which arose from it; though this was left to the Greeks to carry further—largely left indeed till later times; for in the reading of the ups and downs of the Nilometer there lay latent the master-thought of Cartesian geometry. The scribe (the 'Cadmus' of classic tradition) appears; other professions, and their education-faculties, as naturally arose. Thus what has commonly been called an Egyptian 'Temple' became also a College, indeed a University; at least so long as arising with the arts and sciences. These, however, were increasingly dominated by a too annalist history, a too fixed theology; and thus were too early arrested altogether.

The regularity of the seasons, the exuberance of life and growth, the annual inundation and the need of

steady preparation for it, with the assured hope of returning life with spring; all this and more provided the conditions amid which arose so much of the philosophic thought, and even of the religious hopes and faiths of the later world. The activities of life led to their idealisations; and these in many forms, long for us obscure, since on one side too concrete, on the other too abstract. Yet the sphinx, the winged orb and others have remained to us; and the 'key of life,' long lost, is now by modern biology being recovered.

We cannot yet trace the gradual fixation by which doctrines once full of life and hope became over-literalised, and as it were mummified along with the body they were attached to; but there is evidence of the interaction of the State and its institutions with religion and philosophy towards producing this fixity, much as with education, or with faith and doctrine, in more recent times.

Enough here to recall the Procession of the Mummy, with its magnificence of ritual, its wealth of symbolism; and the corresponding exaggeration of the tomb to pyramid or mine. Yet here was but the extreme example of that overpowering of life by death, which is the tragedy of each great period of culture, and which is still around us to-day, too much even within us.

ISRAEL

Moses.—Moses remains after Egyptian funeral has gone: gazes, at Life-tree.
Hebrew slaves bearing bricks: their task-master strikes them with his whip.
Moses strikes task-master, casts off his Egyptian robe, and leads forth the Israelites.
He leaves them for a time; returns with tables of law; finds them bowing before Golden Calf.
Return of the spies bearing grape-bunch.

The coming of Wisdom; The Queen of Sheba.
The Folly of Kings: Vanity of Vanities.

Josiah; The finding of the Law.

Priest and Prophet.

A PRIEST who has been a spectator of the funeral procession, returns and pauses before the life-tree. Slaves enter, bearing bricks; and are beaten by a task-master. The priest with passionate impulse strikes the task-master, casts off his Egyptian robe, and leads them forth to freedom. He leaves them for a brief season and returns with the tables of the Law, but finds them bowing to the golden calf, which he breaks down.

Spies enter bearing the grape-bunch, a vital antithesis of the mummy: like the moving tabernacle to the fixed temple, the passing pillar of fire and cloud to the obelisk, and so on through many contrasts of the Mosaic symbolism. A chant of Life breaks forth. Moses points the way to the Israelites, who follow it in triumph towards the promised land; but, like many a later leader, it is not given to him to enter in.

Moses, not only learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, but renewing and transforming this, from its static fixity amid learned seclusion and hieratic rule,

to become henceforward the dynamic of an emancipated people's life, is thus an enduring type of educative genius at its highest, and an exemplar for culture-institutions at their best. For him the vast heritage of the past, empiric, practical and traditional, speculative and spiritual, with the rod of authority such mastery ever gives, budded with new promise, performed at crises miracles of achievement, and thereafter pointed the way with daily guidance. Yet not for the Egyptians.

From humble and simple origins, guided by such vital initiatives and their symbolic expressions, the Hebrew culture developed its period of settled greatness, of established culture, in the brief but brilliant glories of the age of Solomon; whose history and traditional works so especially demand presentment in our Masque of Learning, and this far fuller than we can spare. How deeply the education of Scotland has been influenced by the Book of Proverbs is now too often forgotten; but so also it is apt to be overlooked that where this book and its teaching fall out of sight, that of Ecclesiastes, in its bitterest cynicism and dispair, inevitably replaces it.

The Wisdom of Solomon is ever personified—a veritable Hebraic Pallas. Fitly then, she enters with her maidens, ranging from mature woman to child, and each with her lighted lamp. For here, as in each living culture period, ancient or modern, masculine experience and wisdom is never complete without feminine intuition, and its inspiration to thought, to art and life.

In the next scene, Solomon's visitor is the Queen of Sheba; here presented as the questioning and stimulating mind of woman, rather than as of inspiration.

Solomon's Judgment is not here represented, fitting

though it would have been in itself, and symbolic too of his life, in so far as one strikingly yet typically balanced between the appeals of woman, good and evil, and the self-deceptive, Faustus-like search of the lower wisdom, to which no thinker, nor perhaps even saint, but at times has felt prone. We pass direct to his lower choice; and personify his autobiographic account of it—of wine, of great works, of vineyards, gardens and orchards, pools of water, of servants and maidens, riches, silver and gold; of men-singers and women singers, of dance, laughter and mirth. The poorest may have all this in reverie, but the rich man has the greater danger of realising it, above all rulers given the great kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them. How hard such temptation is to escape is illustrated with the fitness of the literature of Israel, by making its supreme temple-builder in history thus conspicuously fall. The successive temptations, at first invoked in pride, as in the main a speculative exercise, become next inevitably experimentally participated in; the procession thus passes into a ballet, and this into wild and wilder forms, till Solomon is seized by its excitement, and taken hold of on either hand by madness and folly. The rout of temptations has achieved its purpose, and rushes out, leaving Solomon—now in dispair of life: his cry of 'Vanity' still pierces the ages. Yet behind him Wisdom is seen returning.

Yet from the cheapest cynic to Solomon in his embittered repentance too much has been made of literature of this kind. Neurasthenia after debauch has coloured the whole of it; too much even the pessimism of the noble and spiritual Tolstoi. Still more that of lower orders of philosophers down to pretended ones.

The Finding of the Law, to which modern critics give such a new and increased significance beyond that of our and our fathers' upbringing, is next shown. Here we follow closely the account given in the Book of Chronicles and Kings, and the significance here suggested is conveniently and simply the traditional one—that of a and inspiring great renascence—recurrent, yet alas, all too unfrequent throughout history.

Yet to those who may still dread the modern criticism, with its loss of definiteness for the Mosaic tradition, a compensation may be recalled; one also of increasing interest to students at the more general view-points of this Masque. For the rise of Judaism on this modern view is brought into line with other supreme developments among the great historic religions—which so preponderatingly appear about the same time—say the sixth or seventh century B.C. Judaism in this perfected form becomes broadly coeval in the West with the sages of Greece, even it may be the traditional Druids, more certainly with the noble idealism of Zoroaster, with the practical wisdom of Confucius, and, above all, with the high spirituality of Buddha.

The final scene—the confronting of Priest by Prophet, not only sums up the characteristic alternation of the historic drama of Isrāel, but is also typical of that perpetually reappearing disharmony of authority and insight, of tradition and vision, of law and evangel, of letter and spirit, which is the central conflict of well-nigh all phases of history; indeed the ever-recurrent tragedy of the ascent of man.

Survival and initiative, heredity and variation, to reconcile these is the perpetual difficulty at once of the intellectual, the organic and the social life. Towards throwing light upon this great problem, such

broad reviews of history as the present may not be without their uses. To realise this struggle, and in as many forms as possible, is at an rate a first step towards harmonising it into orderly progress.

CHINESE

Peasant in garments yellow with dust of soil.
The two Peasant-Emperors, Yao and Shun.
Meeting of Confucius and Lao-tze.
Mencius.

Of this vast and longest-enduring civilisation we here but indicate its agricultural basis, and its deeply associated sagacity, honesty and order, its gentleness and wisdom. First of all the Chinese peasant, his garments yellowed by his toil amid the dusty, light-coloured soil which also colours the Yellow River. How Chinese agriculture maintains and develops the patriarchal family, and thus its continuity and solidarity, its patriarchal leadership and wisdom, has once and again been traced by our few Western interpreters of China. Here it must suffice to present culminating historic types, as in Yao and Shun, the great peasant-emperors. Each of these was selected for his efficiency and virtue by his predecessor, in preference to his own son. In so wise a society, the appearance of pre-eminent sages is natural enough. Hence the meeting of Confucious and Lao-tze, and the following up and systematisation of their teaching by the Mencius.

Had a further scene been practicable it would have been that of the Spring Festival of the Chinese Empire at its truly greatest—no military Empire, but an agricultural patriarchate and matriarchate—in which the Emperor, in the peasant's yellow, now appropriately the imperial colour, drives the

first furrow of the spring; while the Empress, again typical peasant-woman, walks beside the furrow and plants the first row of Soya beans.

To the Western mind, whose associations with imperial greatness are too much bounded between the Roman Triumph and the modern Review, this simple ceremonial might lack impressiveness; yet if thoughtfully considered as the sacrament of agriculture of a whole people, it aids towards an explanation of the permanence of China. Does it not even help to the understanding of its present revolution, and the comparative order with which this is being accomplished?

HINDUS

The four Ancient Castes:
Sudra, Vaishya, Kshatriya, and Brahman
(Peasant, Merchant, Ruler and Brahmin).
Manu, the Law-giver, establishes them.

Vasishta a Guru, with disciples, including Princes Rama and Lakshman. Archery and Learning.

Founder of Mathematical Science, Bhaskaracharya, with his daughter Lilavati.
Founders of Schools of Philosophy.
Authors of the Epics, Ramayana and Mahabharata.
The Poet Kalidasa, chanting from his 'Kumarsambhabam.'

Probably no other Western University is so rich as Edinburgh in the membership of students as widely representative of all the many races and religions of India. With a generous good-will which the committee and designer of the Masque desire most warmly to acknowledge, the Indian students, beside their present co-operation, have contributed a wealth of suggestion which might well lead, on some future occasion, to the presentment of a Masque of Indian Learning, complete within itself.

Within the present compass only a limited selection has been possible. Following the method already established, of proceeding from simple beginnings towards their outcome in culture, the first scene is naturally of the four initial Castes—followed by Manu, that veritable Moses of the ancient Aryans, a *rajah-rishi* (King and ascetic), whose codes of Law are still preserved.

These four great castes not only India but every other civilisation has more or less developed:—Sudras, Vaishyas, Brahmins and Kshatryas—labourers and merchants, priests and warriors. Poor and rich, labour and capital; these two first castes are the ones mainly developed in Western lands by our industrial age; yet we also have been increasingly developing the culture-caste of the university; while our public schools have especially endeavoured to provide a courage-caste, with its ambitions turned from gain or learning towards an ideal of rule.

From these four initial castes of India later castes have differentiated, and doubtless with only too great intricacy and separation. Has not the same happened once and again in the West—even in Edinburgh, for instance, to this day?

The high, indeed unparalleled, specialisation of the meditative and the intellectual life of India, and its respect for education, are expressed by the group of the Sanyassin or peripatetic teacher, with his disciples —prince and peasant here meeting in equality of studentship. As true ascetic he is the more vigorous, and this not in mind only; he leads his students in archery as well as in thought.

Hindu science is commemorated by one of the founders of mathematics, and the participation of women in higher studies by his illustrious daughter.

The great schools of Hindu philosophy are finally

represented by their founders, each with his appropriate symbol. The procession closes with the great poet Kalidasa, whose masterpiece 'Sakuntala' will increasingly be acted in this country as our knowledge of India grows; indeed others, such as that which our scene recalls.

BUDDHISTS

Prince Siddartha's Renunciation of Home and Kingdom.
His return as Buddha.

Asoka, the great Buddhist King of India, sending his son, Mahendra, and his daughter, Sangamitra, to Ceylon to preach Buddhism.

While the Hindu world developed caste to its utmost, concrete symbolism to its fullest, and abstract speculation also to its highest extremes, the philosophy and religion of Buddha must be recognised as in many ways its contrast and complement. Its equal absorption of all castes into an aristo-democracy of culture, its high moral organisation of life upon a directly human basis, without recourse to supernatural sanctions, and all the other features of this vast historic system have been so clearly and sympathetically expressed by Sir Edwin Arnold in his *Light of Asia*, and later in prose for Burmah in Fielding Hall's *Soul of a People* as to leave no need for exposition here. Our two characteristic scenes—the Renunciation of Prince Siddartha, and his return as Buddha—are naturally main themes of Arnold.

Ah ! Brothers, Sisters ! Seek
Nought from the helpless gods by gift and hymn,
Nor bribe with blood, nor feed with fruits and cakes ;
Within yourselves deliverance must be sought ;
Each man his prison makes.

PARSIS AND PERSIANS

Zoroastrian High Priest.—followed by Parsi in indoor dress (sacred white muslin shirt always worn), bearing Sacred Fire; and by Parsi gentleman in outdoor dress. Priest chants verse from Avesta in Sermon of Zoroaster.

Preceptor, with three disciples, all in ancient costumes, and with mirror, bow, and arrow, and model horse; representing the ancient Persian Education, which consisted in 'speaking truth, drawing the bow, and in riding the horse.'

Firdausi, the 'Homer of Asia,' in 12th century costume. Author of 'Shah-nameh,' the epic of ancient Persia.

The small but historic and important community of Parsis commemorates its origins from ancient Persia, which it only quitted after the Moslem conquest. Its main settlements were in and around Bombay, where its social coherence and religious continuity, and the high moral standard it has maintained in its dealings with the surrounding community, have been rewarded by a high degree of general esteem and moral influence as well as by economic prosperity. In political respects they may be likened to the Huguenot colony in Berlin, loyal to its own traditions, yet none the less so to the city and land of its adoption: and in other ways a parallel is afforded by our own 'Society of Friends.'

The ancient Aryan idealism and symbolism of Fire expresses the early advance from the elemental Promethean fire to its higher uses and interpretations. For the Hindu this has been expressed in the myths of Agni. For ourselves it has also been nobly set forth, in its domestic and civic influences, spiritual and social together, by Fustel de Coulanges, in *La Cité Antique*. It is this great heritage of ancient religion and civilisation which is now best conserved by the Parsis; and in no mere quaint or pathetic survival sooner or later

to flicker out altogether, as its increasingly westernised inheritors may not unnaturally sometimes fear, or even assent to, shrinking as they naturally do from the absurdly unintelligent nickname of 'Fire-worshippers.' The still mysterious cosmic fires, which after long neglect, we have re-discovered as petroleum springs, and are working, though still too ignorantly, are already lighting the student's lamp over the Eastern world, and driving the engines of world-communications as well as industries. Moreover, in these actual days, when those labouring among the energy-stores of our western industrial communities, and charged with their control hitherto, are clashing together, and as yet with wasted heat rather than light, it is a peculiarly fitting example of the many symbolisms (and corresponding meanings) of our Masque that there should again be recalled to us in this antique and simple way the lesson our western classical student has practically forgotten, and his industrial brothers, either the elder or the younger, have not yet learned—that even for the maintenance of our material life and its economy, our material fire must be controlled with corresponding glow and luminosity of ideals. Condensing this proposition, it takes the sharp directness to which the enigmatic aspect of so many ancient oracles was due, and not to the mere hedging which was their resort only when their inward light and fire had failed. So we may say 'Towards the settlement of coal troubles call in the Zoroastrian priest.' If this remains obscure, our Parsi students, in touch as they may be with the new 'Research University' for India, which is appropriately a Parsi foundation, may yet work out, and express anew in modern fashion, that ancient and ever needed unity of ethics and economics which we have as yet too much reduced to futile and sordid, by our thinking of them apart.

The traditional essentials of Persian education, 'to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth,' need no amplification.

For the illustrious line of Persian poets stands here only Firdausi, whose romantic epic renewed the glories and the spirit of ancient Persia, and carried these on into its Mohammedan age of independence. The Renaissance of Persia, the one Aryan nation which can almost compare with China itself in the antiquity of its culture and of its independence, is thus at once an old story and one never to be despaired of.

GREEKS

Early Greece:—

Background of Nature; Types of Nature Occupations.
Homer; his song evokes from the shades Paris and Helen, Achilles, Odysseus.

Athletes, and Sappho with her maidens; Choric Dance.

Mythopoetic Greece:—

Muses, Gods, Goddesses and Sibyl.

Historic Greece:—

Nature Background, Esop, with animals.
The Oath of Hippocrates.

Pericles and his work. Philosophers, Dramatists, and Orators.

WITH so vast a subject, within so narrow limits, what essentials and episodes shall we present? Again the background of Nature; upon this the renewal of Labour, and its reward in Life. Life not merely maintained, but developed, towards the heroic level; and thence conceived in higher ideal, so that the very gods arise amid their living images. Labour also

truly applied. The handling of the oar which was to the Phœnician, as in Roman and later times, the harshest of slaveries, was by the Athenian reserved as a right of citizenship—a sharing of sea-mystery with Poseidon, of adventure with the companions of Odysseus, of death and glory with the victors of Salamis. From the care of the olive-tree came not only the crops of fruit, the dividends of oil, but peace and wisdom. And from the harder toils and steadier returns of the cornfield came the rewards of Triptolemos, the odes and festivals of harvest, the sorrow of Demeter, the initiation of Eleusis. From the vine not only the raisin and the wine-trade, but the enhancement of the Dionysian ecstasy of life, its mystic deepenings also; and from the oak-tree not only the timbers of temple-roof or trireme, but Zeus-like maturity and strength. With each environment, each true mastery of it, was associated for the Greek a corresponding invigoration of the body and development of the mind. He expressed, and here again expresses for us, that labour is towards fulness of life, and not life merely for labour. Hence these early and simple ancestors are shown upon our stage as foreshadowings of the divine shapes which were perfected by later mythopoesy and sculpture.

As we recover this Hellenic simplicity and unity—that of labour and its ideals—the 'education problems' and 'labour problems' we have as yet kept too separate begin to reunite. A better future opens to the view; and this in no small measure as a Hellenic renascence.

For what was the Greek secret? That the elemental chord, of all true activity, is that of nature, labour, and life—of place, work, and folk. If this be kept tuneful through its innumerable variations there evolve the harmonies of labour and ideals. Thus arose, especially in the Greek mind, its vital conception

and its method of education: the specialised perfecting of the body in youth, in the dance, and thereafter in the manly exercises from which the gymnasium later developed; and with all this the attuning of the spirit also, continued in maturity and in age, with Apollo's and with Homer's lyre. Hence our group of athletic youths flushed by exercise, and with them the old Homer, blinded by the brightness of his inner vision. As he harps, he chants a verse of his still supreme song—ballad and epic in one, the epitome of love and war, and their perpetual intertwining of the individual and the social life and tragedy through history. His supreme creations are thus evoked anew; Helen, Achilles, Odysseus appear for a moment; they pass, and repass behind the veil.

With such poetic inspiration thrilling through the whole Greek world, Sappho and her maidens appear, fit types of beauty and its song. Her songs have all but passed away. Instead of one of these a rendering can happily be given of that Delphian Hymn to Apollo, which is the main fragment as yet recovered from this noble infancy of music.

Now appears, in its ritual sobriety and stateliness, the elaborate Choric Dance, revived from Greek vases, and performed by students of the Art College.

As Greek life thus developed towards perfection, yet more ideal perfection arose beyond. Hence after their common mother, Mnemosyne (Memory) the Muses appear, each with her activity or its symbol: Urania for astronomy and architecture, Terpsichore for dance, Erato for the lyric of love, and Euterpe for that of patriotism. Calliope is epic, and Polymnia wisdom; Thalia comedy, Melpomene tragedy; and Clio history, recording all. Yet these are no mere

traditional grouping, or occult symbolism of the number Nine, still less the arbitrary expressions of poetic fancy, which they have seemed so long. They are here presented as recovered in terms of science, as again becoming manifest through the study of life and mind in evolution. From this point of view they reappear for us to-day, one and all. For they are demonstrably the (nine) possible modes and alternatives of that action of the psychic life upon its environment, which is life indeed, the 'good life' of Greek aspiration—transcending mere vegetative continuance, with which our modern toil is too much content. Fallen yesterday to a hackneyed tag of imitative verse, to-day practically forgotten, or at most affording a mere passing allusion in prose or illustration for speech, the Nine Muses will be again to-morrow fully recovered—not this time by scholarship, but by the evolutionary sciences, psychological and social. They are vital and helpful conceptions; again applicable in modern life, to all its problems; towards reorganising labour and education, towards vivifying universities and cities anew, as of old in Greece.

The scholar and the archæologist have long had their Museums, but as treasure-houses of the relics of what still too much seems to them a dead and vanished past. Yet now the modern town-planner, for whom Greek citizenship is no longer a mere learned reminiscence or a unique and unattainable moral marvel, but a working conception once more, is in these days actually designing, for the bettering cities of the opening future, their veritable 'Museion,' sometimes even with all its nine Muse-gardens, and their fitting palaces.

The Greek philosophy of art and education, which saw all true action as the modes and moods of 'Mousike,' is thus more and more returning; and

here from the side of the applied sciences, whose present mechanical discords have by the Muses to be re-tuned.

The three notes of the chord of Life are organism, function, and environment—*i.e.*, in simpler human phrase, folk, work, and place. These have their correlates in feeling, experience and sense. To these again correspond ideal, idea and image, as the normal elements of a deeper and more inward harmony. From these again arise their respective expression and outcome—in individuality, in activity and in beauty: and each at its highest—divine in Olympus, musal in Parnassus, human in the Hellenic city. Here, in fact, have we not the broadest summary, the quintessential psychology of the evolutionary process, and therefore above all, in Greek culture; indeed, in principle, of all other cultures as well?

With the Muses for action-types and for educators, the possibilities of human life become more clearly seen, the means of their development more nearly discerned also. And these for each of its phases, from infancy to age. In the Greek mind, science, art, and idealism were not yet dissociated into the sterilising specialisms of the encyclopedia, but in living interaction as the good life. Thus they expressed themselves in that high unison of inward truth, beauty and good presented in art, which we call 'myth'; and which, losing its Greek and vital sense, we then misunderstand, at length even to disbelieving! But for the Greek there arose naturally what is for us again dawning as the ideal of eugenics, of education also; vitally expressed in a vision of divinities, beings that are at once normal and ideal, human yet superhuman; and far beyond those earlier and simpler idealisations of occupation and place, which were foreshadowed on

the opening scene; like Apollo the divine shepherd, the musician, the healer; like Athena of the olive, or Demeter of the corn. Goddesses and gods thus expressed each the ideal, or supernorm, of a phase of life. This vivid and creative intuition since Greek days has too much seemed but a mythologic dream, but is even now reappearing in evolutionary thought. We repeat that in each goddess, each god, there reappears the essential and characteristic, the logical and necessary expression of the corresponding life-phase, of Woman, and of Man.

Hence their entry upon our scene, in life's processional order, the youngest first.

First then, in the procession of the gods, comes the man-child, the simple Eros; next Hermes, the boy-messenger, swift of body, ready and eager of mind. Then Dionysos, the youth awakening to life and manhood, thrilling to woman, wine, and song. Next Apollo, fully developed in body and mind, master of himself; now serene in repose, again aroused to action, raising this into art.

Next Ares, armed and active in the struggle for existence, fierce, not always victorious. Then, further on in life, Hephestos, who has reached his special mastery and its creative skill, but has also been grimed and worn by his efforts, limited by his task, even to lameness. Finally Zeus, that culminating type of patriarchal perfection, in whom youth has persisted, experience matured, wisdom and will developed; and whose completest life is therefore reverenced by all as on the whole life's culminant, to be accepted and obeyed accordingly.

Next the goddesses: and in the same order. Hebe, the winning and willing child; Artemis the girl, still unawakened to sex, running free in nature; Aphrodite, conscious of her compelling charm; Pallas with her bright intuition, her ready spear of woman's wit; Hera in her full perfection of womanhood; Demeter ageing, saddened and grey, patient, helpful and wise.

After the goddesses as essentially idealising the phases of woman's life, came naturally a deeper and more psychologic presentment of her development, in the Sibyls. The young Sibyl is of social intuition, the old has tradition also; she combines long memory and insight, she is something of goddess, of muse yet woman, all in one. Such possibilities of development explain prehistoric and historic ascendencies of matriarch and empress; and in their perversion, the passions, powers, and deeds of the evil witch; and also the wild terror and hatred she has once and again excited. But of evil types we need not here speak further. It is for later ages and in our own that the gods become perverted into devils. That from childhood we learn less of Apollo than of Apollyon or from youth onwards see Venus Cloacina more in honour than Aphrodite, is not the fault of the Greeks.

The preceding has been the outline of one great aspect of Greek evolution; from nature, through labour and art, to life and its ideals. In this second group of scenes we naturally come to realisations of this, in thought and deed, in constructive and creative art, and above all in the City, which was the supreme achievement and creation of Hellas—and which is becoming again of such value and example to our own age of returning citizenship.

Nowhere therefore, is the choice of scene more difficult, the variety of possible presentments more numerous, or with greater varieties of scale.

Nature and its simple wisdoms are once more recalled; by Esop, appropriately surrounded by some of the animals whose life and doings, moods and humours, he wrought into his parables of the ways of man. Himself probably an interpreter of older Indian fabulists, his spirit never dies. It reappeared in the middle ages in Reineke Fuchs and Eulenspiegel, in later times in La Fontaine. Indeed he is common to all lands; from the African Uncle Remus he has his analogues in well nigh every regional folk-lore. Only during a period of classification and anatomy has the zoologist ever lost this; but with Darwin's *Expression of the Emotions* this recovered comparative psychology henceforth enters upon a new phase of opening science and of coming art; just as the Life-Tree, kindling in the sun, to leaf, flower and fruit—breathing, moving, sensitive, warm—is again the recovered theme of botany, by which the Dryad myth is thus recovered.

The Oath of Hippocrates, to this day the honour of the medical profession, can find nowhere a more fitting commemoration than here, in the great Medical School which reckons among its historic names so many of his most illustrious successors.

Following on this life and knowledge of nature, this rise of psychology, this growth and advance of medicine and hygiene, there comes naturally, in this commemoration of the classic past, as again in modern life the development of Citizenship—and this in no mere abstract moralising of philosophers on one side, no mere material struggles of despotic and democratic excesses, to which both Greeks and we have been too prone—but Citizen and City Development together.

For the City as dominant factor of Greek life, the πόλις, the two representative groups are Sparta and

Athens. For Sparta, Leonidas in mail, sent forth to Thermopylæ by his wife and sons, so typifying the Spartan education. For Athens the swearing-in of the ephebe into his tribe-company, and his receiving spear and shield: Pericles looking on.

For City Development Pericles with the architect and the sculptor of the Parthenon are thus for all time the representative and typical group. These culture-heroes of the supreme art of city-design have often been too mechanically imitated in many cities, as here in Edinburgh; and with a consequent rebound into sorbid utilitarianism, paralysed culture or cynic discouragement; but they are again coming into their true example and influence, as in the designing of the University of California yesterday, or it may be in that of Delhi to-morrow. With them comes also Aspasia—Women as inspirer of living thought and worthy deed, of artistic and civic achievement.

It is well here to note that the old and long-enduring aspersions upon the character of Aspasia, of Sappho, and other culture-heroines of antiquity have been shown to be of far later date than their lives, and of dubious, reactionary, even bitterly prejudiced origins.

Next the representative and supreme philosophers: —Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Each has a friend and pupil; for philosophy, like music, lives in its discourse, and dies down into silence and nothingness with mere retrospect and criticism. Why then after these supreme types of the University has there come so much mere imitative philosophising, as from the supreme City an imitation architecture? Because we have too much as yet taken of each the letter, and these separately: it is time for the spirit of both together—for City and University as one. The willing death of Socrates, the republic of Plato, the

synoptic city-vision of Aristotle, have thus a civic unison. This has once and again been expressed by the living historian, if too seldom by the historic commentator; but in the measure in which in this University or any other we may hope to recover, say rather recreate, the spirit of Athens, we must again bring our philosophy and our citizenship together. The failure of Athens itself was in no small measure through falling short of this; and this opening age of experimental studies in higher education must link the School of Philosophy with that of Civics as are those of Physiology and Medicine here to-day. From such a synthetic philosophy there has ever burst forth action—action sometimes only too comprehensive and ambitious, like that of Aristotle's pupil, Alexander, called the Great. For in his career the imperial greatness of Macedon achieved that overthrow of the Greek cities from which civilisation has never yet recovered, and which was far from compensated by that eastward expansion of Greek culture on which historians have commonly laid so much greater stress. Happily philosophy found also concrete complement in that widening appreciation and creation of life as drama, in which Athens again was initiative and supreme. Aeschylus, Euripides, Sophocles, have thus earned their laurels: laurels undimmed by time, and ever being renewed; witness the increase of Greek plays at schools and colleges, of vernacular renderings like those of Butcher and Lang and Gilbert Murray, or the recent presentment of the Oedipus.

If time permitted, we should here have groups expressing Greek education.

Thus for primary education—in Greek days starting rightly, not with 'alpha-beta,' but with 'music,' and this in its large Greek sense—the citharist with

his pupils. And following him, for 'gymnastic,' a group of athletes bringing home the Olympic victor with his laurels.

For secondary education, a group of the great sophists—Gorgias, Protagoras, &c., pointing up to education at its highest, in the three supreme philosophers.

Yet even here we cannot truthfully omit the decay of culture, notably in the Cynics. Diogenes, whether with tub or lantern, needs no introduction to a modern audience, composed so largely of students and other individualists, with their faith in life too often paralysed, their pride of personal thought exaggerated, and both through the lapse of citizenship. For to most minds it is much that our modern athletic renewal should again have brought with it the tub, and this in a simpler, healthier, more truly Hellenic sense than that of Diogenes. But the disaster is that it as yet so much stops there; save indeed for those who think the highest career is in getting upon it; with our Union orators, with elder or more recent ones. Citizenship, Athenian or incipient, has a fuller education than of the body; and it seeks utterance and expression beyond voice and vote.

After all this serious discussion of civics, philosophy and drama, there is a time to unbend; a time too, to realise the limitation of all our efforts. The playful spirit is thus mingled with the bitterness of Omar and of Koheleth. Thus appears Aristophanes, with his superlative fooling, mirthful, stinging, destructive by turns. As always without constructive suggestion —other than the mere impossible return to the past, itself far from sincere—the influence and example of Aristophanes have in the main been powers for evil; and this not only in his own day, but onwards to ours.

Parent and model of later pseudo-critics and parodists, his progeny have showered their envenomed arrows upon each new philosopher or poet—Keats but for one—yet most of all poisoned their own souls.

Last the orator Demosthenes, last champion of Greek freedom; yet for Greece, as too often everywhere, the harbinger of decline. Into the decay of Greece, however, we need not further enter here: our essential effort has been to show forth something of its glory.

ROMANS

Early Rome

Peasants. The call of Cincinnatus. The Sibylline Books.

Imperial Rome

Cæsar. Virgil with Augustus; Horace with Maecenat. Marcus Aurelius. Pedagogue with youths. Architect (Vitruvius) with Engineer. Justitia; Ulpian and Papinian. Justinian.

End of Graeco-Roman Culture

St Jerome. Martyrdom of Hypatia.

THE origins of Roman civilisation were not merely commemorated in that she-wolf and her hurslings, whose stern and fateful shadow now takes the place of those of Greek decline. They are being increasingly reinterpreted from traditions surviving from the early folk-wanderings and from their earliest agricultural settlements: for instance, in the *Ver Sacrum*, in the Roman Calendar. Behind the dignity of the vestals and the magnificence of their cloister and temple we come down to the primitive round hut, with its fire-maidens. In many such ways the evolutionary presentment of Roman culture is advancing; and this even for its high legal developments—witness interpretations like those of Von Jhering, one of the greatest

of modern Roman lawyers, and of evolutionary sociologists also, because these for the first time in one.

Peasant folk enter; a father and son set up boundary stones for their field; while others are going to market with corn and beans and wine-skins. Two strike a bargain; and the parties have it taken down by the Pontifex, who alone knows the binding words, at once sacred and legal.

The traditional law-giver Numa, and his inspirer Egeria, survey the scene for a moment. To them appears Justitia; whom they lead to a pedestal, from which she henceforward overlooks the scene.

Next enters a more patrician type, elder and ex-consul, yet occupied with the repair of his wooden plough.

Such a peasant folk, who called each other by homely names like Fabius and Cicero, Bean and Pea —as if Lothian ploughboys' nicknames of 'Neep' and Tatie' were to stick and even be made immortal— take little account of the Muses. So that when the Sibyl brings to the market the nine-fold heritage of Greece, she is rejected, and by plebeians and patricians alike. She retires, casts away three, returns with six, and is again refused. Only when she has reduced her books to three is her offer accepted.

In this legend the Romans have conserved the confession of their own limitations; yet, were not the Muses they chose the greatest of all—those most civic, constructive, historic?

A messenger enters bringing to the elder a summons and commission to defend the Republic: his son brings in his red mantle and sword. Cincinnatus thus leaves his plough; and when he returns victorious, will go back to it again.

From such simple beginnings of defensive war and their successful consequences, there grew up, in later and imperial times the greatest of systems of agricultural colonisation and expansion.

Youths served a time in what it is a real misunderstanding to consider the mere specialised 'army' it produced; since it developed at length the civil service and more, including road-making and engineering on a scale answering to that of our railway age, postal communications anticipating our modern ones, police order unsurpassed, and public building still far from as fully attained. Hence in our later presentment and commemoration of Roman constructive achievement the soldier is shown accompanying engineer and architect.

After his period of service the legionary obtained his grant of land, and settled down to farm it, thus educating and absorbing the native peoples and earlier settlers, with their traditions; much as Canada—most Roman of all modern Empires—is again doing to-day. His daughters married into the surrounding community; his sons took their turn of service, and were settled in due time farther north or south, east or west. Thus each succeeding generation, and this on the side of spindle as well as spear, looked back to Rome as the mother city, along a lengthening perspective of ancestors; and despite increasing distance, with strengthening because more sacred ties.

Such continuity of development there is in the long process in which Cæsar midway appears as a supreme historic figure closing the days of the Republic, opening those of the Empire. Our school-boy's ideas thus need to be placed upon a far wider basis than that which he may derive from his military records alone.

Next appears Augustus: here of twofold interest—as head and type of the Roman State ceasing to conquer, and seeking to organise; and also as the friend and protector of Virgil. Yet this is no mere scene of emperor and his court-laureate, as later times have represented them, and with would-be imitations without number. Theirs was based at least on the true association of man of action and thinker, statesman and idealist, seeking to reconcile present with past, the tradition of the free Republic with the vision of the Roman mission of world-wide peace.

From what do Virgil's poetic mastery and undying magic arise? Plainly from the ever-budding root-stock of nature and peasant activities; from the adventurous folk-wanderings of the past, seen as romantic from the calmer joys of the established rural order; and from this also, as realised in its beauty and longed for in its peace from amid the thronging activities of the world-metropolis.

Following these comes Horace with Maecenas, the Carnegie of his period, and more, suggesting new poems. Next Marcus Aurelius here more as moralist than as emperor. Yet were this the Masque of Rome, instead of a mere germ, a first suggestion towards it, we should naturally commemorate the other 'good emperors,' Trajan and Hadrian above all.

As the due expression of Roman education, upon its highest sides of character and productive efficiency, and thus of living morality, should be remembered the Roman matron with her sons. The literary and intellectual education—which in later Rome too much overpowered this, as again with us to-day—is expressed by the pedagogue, both for good and evil; as Greek teacher, but also as slave. The later lapse of the Roman lady into luxury and weakness, and the conse-

quent perversion or abandonment of the mother's supreme educational guidance to the servant first, and the pedagogue afterwards, were no small factors in the decline and fall of Rome, as in the deterioration of later aristocracies to this very day. The barrack and janissary system of education, which everywhere more or less arise under such conditions (witness our modern public schools, private schools, state schools, popular schools) are only to be explained or defended as a measure of expediency, during times of decadence of woman, and the depression of her higher influences, which work together in vicious circle.

The practical and constructive genius of the Roman, expressed from early times by the Pontifex in his literal meaning as bridge-builder, and peace-maker accordingly, was increasingly developed with the Empire, and is naturally presented by the road-maker with his plan; by the engineer with his aqueduct; by the architect with his model; and above all by the agriculturist with his sheaf. For though with the barbarian incursions the Roman roads largely vanished, the aqueducts were broken, the civic buildings neglected or quarried in, the farming of Europe has largely remained until modern times as a Roman tradition, albeit more or less lapsed.

What to the townsmen has seemed mere peasant stupidity and ignorance thus deserves more respectful treatment as Roman tradition, like some of the folk-lore which has accompanied it: and our rising agricultural colleges and pioneerings may improve their appeals as they reach more sympathetic interpretation of peasant methods at their best. It is worth remembering that Wordsworth's favourite Latin author was Columella, whose agricultural encyclopedia may be compared, and not with disadvantage, with the architectural treatise of Vitruvius.

Our commemoration of Roman road-makers, bridge-builders, and water-engineers is peculiarly appropriate here in Scotland, whose sons like Macadam and Telford, or for more recent types, Aird and Arrol, have had so large a share in renewing the Roman mastery of these great arts.

It is also fitting to commemorate Roman Law, on which Scottish practice and legal education has been so much based.

Our outline is again of the simplest. The lictors, it will be noticed, bear their rods, but not axes; since these were the symbol of military, not civil law, of the general's summary powers of court-martial in the field and not of the serener justice of the Basilica. They are followed by Ulpian and Papinian. It is interesting to note that these—perhaps the two great jurists of all time—were both of Syrian origin, and contemporary with the spread of Christianity; and thus came from the social environment which had been most thrilled by the Jewish aspirations towards righteousness and towards a better future, and which was disciplined from within by Greek thought, as well as from without by Roman law and order.

Above them appears, Justitia, the Roman personification of just law; for she, after Roma herself, was the one worthy divinity evolved by later Rome, and more important than any of the pallid and abstract parallels to the Olympians who survived mainly as ornaments to literature. Yet she remained necessarily too abstract also; and so became outshone by the apotheosis of emperors, until both became lost in that struggle of new faiths and exotic superstitions in which Roman religion perished, and Christianity emerged.

Upon Justitia then, is projected the Shadow of the Cross: for with this vision of a new ideal, the Basilica becomes consecrated as the Church, and the judgment seat gives place to the altar.

Our scanty suggestion of Roman history must therefore include that renewal of spiritual and temporal powers which was the achievement of the Eastern Empire, and which is visualised around the commanding figure of Justinian, with St Sophia, once the metropolitan church of Christendom, and with the Code, each an enduring monument.

That commingling of Roman Civilisation with the Christian faith, of which the Catholic order is the resultant, is here expressed in the figure of St Jerome with his stupendous achievement of the Vulgate. Of this the briefest account may be to say that it has been for the larger world, and for fifteen centuries, much of what our own vernacular version has been to us for three. No adequate presentment of him has ever omitted the Lady Paula and her daughter, each a truest helper—inspirer and protectress, disciple and friend.

The last great work of Roman literature, yet one of peculiar influence, was Boethius' 'Consolations of Philosophy,' which was translated by King Alfred for his times, and has still value for ours. But since Roman culture was so essentially Greek in its origins, it is best to close our Graeco-Roman presentment as a whole, with an earlier scene, that martyrdom of Hypatia, which so dramatically characterises the overpowering of later Hellenism in its last great stronghold of Alexandria, by the iconoclastic spirit of Egyptian monasticism. Yet, though this tragedy seemed for a thousand years the ending of Greek culture, the Renaissance came at last: while a new renascence is

in progress, and this in city after city. Each great port and emporium of the west is awakening to the Hellenic ideal of being a culture-city also : witness the young and growing Universities of New York, of Liverpool, Hamburg, San Francisco, Barcelona, or again Calcutta and Bombay, and of smaller cities also, of the same maritime and accessible type—Dundee or Trieste, Catania or Algiers. Alexandria has again the material resources; and for traditions more than most of these cities put together. Few lists of great names have surpassed those of Ptoleny's 'Museum' (thus named in a fuller sense than any of ours), in numbers and if not always in original productivity, in encyclopedic and enduring influence. It is not 'Utopian' dreaming, therefore, but plain and obvious foresight, that the town-planner's proposition—that of 'Eutopia for every City'—will there as elsewhere before many years take worthy form.

Then among the many courts and monuments of the renewed Museum of Alexandria the statue of Hypatia will find its worthy, even central place. First as an expression of noble memories, and these at once personal and comprehensively symbolic of the Greek past: and also as a veritable Pharos, bearing the light of a re-opening intellectual future.

CELTIC

Ossianic Age—

Nature Background ; Fairies. Angus Og (god of Youth). Druid and Druidess. The Sacred Symbols

Druidic Age—

The Harping of Ossian ; evocation of Cuchullin, of Deirdre, and the sons of Usnach, and the Riders of the Sidhe.
The meeting of St Patrick and Ossian.
Ossianic Chant ; and Hymn to the Sun.

Arthurian Age—

Merlin and Arthur. The Winning Excalibur ! the beginning of the Round table.

Columban Age—

St Columba and his Missioners.

In no one of the great cultures here commemorated are the nature-origins more obvious, more significant, more enduring. Hence the nature-forms of our 'Primitive' scene, who next took shape as fauns and satyrs for the Greek imagination, again reappear ; and now in yet more human and more sympathetic forms —the Fairies. Even Pan returns; for, though elsewhere degraded to diabolical shapes, he has been preserved here in the north from the worst of these deteriorations by kindly folk-lore, and by the protection of the poets, Burns above all. In short Burns' 'Deil' is by turns Pan, Nature, and the poet—indeed (like himself) a mingling of their many moods.

From the varied Celtic Pantheon there also comes one of its happiest types—Angus Og, the God of Youth, in whom characters of Dionysos, of Apollo, of Balder the Beautiful all mingle and meet.

The nature-occupations which have preserved the ideality of the Celtic peoples, and been the compensation of their poverty are expressed by the shepherd youths. The uprise of nature and labour into thought,

and of the application of this to education and public life, by the Druid Philosopher-Priests, the Sibylline Druidess. They are accompanied by youths bearing these ancient and mysterious symbols, by many supposed of synthetic significance and initiation, which so many sculptures have preserved for us.

Ossian, the Celtic Homer, appears with Malvina; and the mythology and legend of Druid and Druidess thus give way to poetic art. As Homer's song evoked the heroines and heroes of the past, so again Ossian's. Hence Cuchullin, the Celtic Achilles, comes back from the shades, and Deirdre, a nobler Helen, returns with the sons of Usnach. Next, as the poet changes his song from historic epic to hymn of creative idealism, there pass before us the Riders of the Sidhe, each offering one of the four gifts of life to men. First the leafing, flowering, fruiting branch of the Life-Tree—the simple life and labour of the People. The next bears the cup—for the Joy of Life in its prosperity. The next is gazing into his magic crystal of Thought, in which from reflections from without, again from memories within, Emotion, Reason and Intuition are ever creating new visions. Finally comes the bearer of the Sword—for Idealism in Action, Justice in Rule. It is here well worth noting, that despite all difference and remoteness, these four will be seen to correspond in principle to the four castes of our first Hindu scene. The correspondence may perhaps be related with those of comparative philology and of folklore: yet it is of even more general, indeed universal range. Thus these four essential types are demonstrable in the psychology as well as the economics and politics of our modern towns. They are respectively expressed in the Town of industry, the School of learning, the Cloister of religion, thought

or art, and in the Acropolis, Temple or Cathedral, of fully realised culture and citizenship, which are the four essentials of every city worth the name. Hence also these ancient castes, these fairy donors all reappear, albeit in different persons and garments and symbols, in our closing scene of modern Edinburgh.

In no literature has the strife of Christianity with Paganism been more dramatically presented than in that meeting of St Patrick with Ossian after his three centuries in Fairyland, of which our scene recalls the dramatic contrast which Mr Yeats has so vividly renewed for us in one of his greatest poems. This however dispenses us from further exposition or comment.

No section of the magnificent Pageant of Scottish History of 1908 was more admirably treated in detail or more effective in completeness than the Arthurian Procession contributed by a group of Glasgow artists: in fact this was probably the masterpiece of pageantry as yet produced on either side of the Tweed. Our present purpose and limits however admit but of a single Arthurian episode. To express its meaning here we may recall the series of decorations with which Mr John Duncan has enriched the common-room of Ramsay Lodge; than which no more sustained and magnificent scheme of design and colour, no more vital symbolism has been produced by modern art in Scotland, indeed few such anywhere.

The first of these panels presents the awakening of Cuchullin—Youth arising in his Strength and its opening Possibilities. Next, Fionn wrestling with the King of Norway—type of physical energy and struggle upon the Heroic level. Beyond this, we come to the decisive spiritual adventure of Youth, and

to the right service of Age and Experience towards its guidance, in the picture of the old Merlin rowing the young Arthur to grasp Excalibur from the mysterious hand which raises it from the lake.

For obvious reasons of stage-craft primarily, yet for inner reasons also, the different but kindred legend of drawing the sword from the stone has been preferred here. The call to youth, the openness of opportunity, the uniqueness of supreme achievement are here again emphasised, indeed in no myth more strongly. But the story is of no mere individual success. The defeated rivals, so little considered in all the ordinary stories of the struggle for existence, of yesterday, or of to-day, are here reconciled with their victor: and by him in mutual generosity incorporated and ennobled into the fellowship of the Round Table; from which each in turn sets forth anew upon some worthy and appropriate quest.

Yet for the Arthurian, as for earlier and later Celtic heroes, the story ends with a sad refrain, 'of how the heroes went forth to battle, but they fell.'

Hence in our former single Masque there appeared a scene of Viking victory now transferred to the Masque of medieval and modern times, which it more fitly opens. This however was not to commemorate mere conquest by force or guile, but as the appreciation of a new type of poetic achievement. One of our calmest historians, Mr Bryce, reckons ancient Iceland, in the golden moment of productivity of its Saga time as only inferior to Athens and Florence.

These warring races evoked in each other some of their highest qualities; and each communicated to its adversary something of its own. The Sagas, Scandinavians tell us, show no little trace of Celtic impulse and influence; while the heroic adventurousness of

Celtic chivalry gained intensity from its Berserk antagonists; and in its very ruin, impressed the conquering might of the Norsemen, and refined it towards more spiritual ends. Hence in fact the incorporation, in Ireland and Highlands alike, of conqueror by conquered.

After the shadowy Ossianic and Arthurian cycles comes the more historic Columban age; with its vast impulse through Britain and northern Europe. Its scene thus fitly begins with the setting-up of the great cross, and ends with the sending forth of missionaries to all the northern lands. Here in fact the long University History of Scotland truly begins (say rather, remembering Druids and Merlin, begins anew) with this Columban ordination service as its typical graduation ceremony.

Of the many services of these missioners to civilisation our pageant expresses three. First the Latin hymn sung by the Monks commemorates the introduction of rhyme from Gaelic into Latin, and thence into other European languages. It is not always remembered that this salient characteristic of modern poetry, as distinguished from classic, is the gift of the Celtic bard turned chorister.

Secondly, the rude coracle is introduced to recall how it was the Columban zeal and devotion, and not fisherman's experience nor pirate's daring which developed what seemed to these the miracles of 'sailing against wind and tide.' Their skill thus educated and encouraged Norseman and Briton towards their mastery of the seas, and their zeal carried them forth on explorations the most adventurous; so that many ages later, Columbus was fortified not a little for his great quest by the tradition of St Brandan.

Important as were the missions of Iona, successively

to Inch-Colm, to Holy Isle and even to York and Oxford, their influence was greater on the Continent. St Gall, Ratisbon, Vienna and most others of the many historic Scottish Monasteries and Colleges of the Continent were thus founded. That these are by no means shadowy memories, but enduring achievements, was well recognised a few years ago in the celebration, by the great metropolis of Vienna, of the foundation of the Scottish Cloister, which is to this day central upon its town plan, as of old in its spiritual life.

Yet this long line of international influence and achievement had an even greater result; for this Celtic influence at once culminates, ends, say rather dissolves into the larger world, with the tale of Charlemagne founding his schools of Paris, by help of two scholars who continued this long tradition, Alcuin of York, and his fellow from Holy Isle.

EPILOGUE

THE STATUE OF ST COLUMBA

Procession of the Celtic Peoples.
The Building of the Pedestal.
The Placing of the Statue.

THE recent reopening and present restoration of Iona Cathedral are plainly of far more importance than Scotland has yet commonly realised. In all our stormy history there is but one single figure whom all sections, divisions, classes, faiths of this much divided land have each accepted as representative—St Columba. His life by Adamnan, as regards its liter-

ary significance, was the first of that long line of biographies in which Scottish writers have since so often excelled, witness in recent times, Boswell, Lockhart, Carlyle. Columba's later biographers, Episcopalian or Presbyterian, find also in him their true exemplar; while the latest biography, the most widely appreciative of all, is due to Mr Victor Branford, once of this Tower, and since a pillar of the Sociological Society, who no less appropriately interprets Columba with his complex qualities, high aims and rare success as having been the foremost sociologist and psychologist of his day.

Among the many civic suggestions of our Outlook Tower, and amidst its endeavours towards the improvement of Edinburgh, in the recent Cities and Town Planning Exhibition, was the proposed statue of St Columba, by Prof. Portsmouth of the Art College. This should fitly stand at the head of the Lawnmarket; for here is not only the very spot where Columba may most probably have preached, but where he is again needed to stand to unite the separate yet kindred denominations whose three Assemblies meet around; and these in renewing sympathy with the many other churches and centres of good will and fellowship not far away.

Hence our Epilogue; which instead of recalling the past, as hitherto, now boldly anticipates the future; and this as rightly acknowledging its Heritage and renewing it. Our theme is therefore

THE COMMEMORATION OF ST COLUMBA

by erection of his statue, now in preparation, at the meeting of Lawnmarket and West Bow, where it should stand—midway among the Assembly Halls and Churches which have for the time being

lost their ancient and future unity—Edinburgh (The Maiden of the Edinburgh City Arms) receives a procession of representatives of the leading Celtic peoples, each group bringing a block for the pedestal. The Bretons, since our most distant guests, head the line, with 'Arvor' the typical representative of old Brittany followed by peasants (the kindly 'onion-boys' who are our annual visitors). Then the Welsh, similarly with 'Wales,' followed by Bard, Druid Bard, and Ovate. The Irish next, with 'Erin,' and her maidens, followed by peasants bearing one the Green Branch and the other the Red. Next, Celts from Canada and other Dominions. Then the Highlanders, with 'Alban' and Sennachie, with due escort. Finally, to preside over the whole, 'Celta,' a venerable woman, bearing a standard upon which are emblazoned the emblems of all the preceding Celtic peoples, with those of Cornwall and Man also. Beckoned by Celta, the Welsh Bards come forward, with their ceremonial 'Call of Peace,' and the representatives of the various peoples then come forward with their stones for the pedestal, the Irish placing the first, and the Highlanders the last. Celta joins their hands with those of the four national figures around the pedestal. The sculptor now brings in the statue.

Chanting is heard in the distance, and Columban monks return from the past, each under the symbolic veil of Memory.

Modern ecclesiastics now enter, actually representing many different denominations. They place the statue upon its pedestal, Celta then joins their hands in a second circle, and predicts in Gaelic and in English to all present that this scene shall actually be accomplished, and before the eyes of many of those here present. A Columban Hymn from 'Carmina Gadhelica' is sung by all assembled. Evening falls,

as all go out, and a star shines out in the sky above the statue.

This simple scene needs no further explanation or commentary. It is the type of prophecy which begins at once to organise its own fulfilment, and the erection of this statue will henceforth be included in that general scheme of renewal and monumental adornment of the 'Historic Mile' of Old Edinburgh, towards which the Outlook Tower and the allied Town and Gown Association, Ltd., have now for so many years been labouring. The co-operation of the Old Edinburgh Club, the Cockburn Association, the St Andrew Society, and many other lay bodies may also be invited, as well as that of religious bodies of all denominations in Edinburgh and beyond.

So for this Epilogue in its immediate detail. Its wider symbolism will be obvious; its bearing upon our attitude to the past and the heritage we have received from it.

Note.—Should this Masque of Ancient Learning, like its companion, be produced in London, a scene of more distinctly Welsh and Anglo-Celtic interest will naturally replace the preceding Epilogue.

REPERTORY OF THE MASQUES OF LEARNING

The Masque of Early Man

I

The preceding will now plainly be seen as a first suggestion, a germinal beginning towards the needed 'Masque of Early Man.' This could readily occupy an evening's performance; indeed it will in time again develop, into a trilogy, a tetralogy, a whole series, of kindred Masques! Even then we should be severely condensing the results of Anthropology and of Archæology; and in ways which would shock some of their most esteemed cultivators as incomplete, as 'premature,' as even 'popular'! Yet none the less one such Masque at least, should in one time be aimed at; and this with more and more of that concrete vividness, that concentrated simplicity, that symbolic intensity, that poignancy of direct appeal to sympathetic emotion, by which all the sciences, each in its own way have ere long to be re-presented, re-generalised that is re-generated, by Art. For Anthropology we have already such beginnings, witness 'The Jungle Book.' In Paris especially painters like Cormon, sculptors also, and writers like Rosny, have long been setting kindred examples; while both in America and at home living teachers are admirably beginning this masquing in the schools. For how better may children advance than by repeating the essential stages of human progress, by thus climbing up the ladder of evolution?

Yet there still too much lies upon the progress of these sciences the dead hand of the anatomist, with his well-nigh exclusive skull-collections and skull-measurements: for craniology has now been for a

generation and more the most pretentious, yet probably the least productive of all branches of science, even the strictly necrological ones. Yet as the living naturalist, the true biologist, is not primarily a collector of things dead, but a lover of things living, so the real anthropologist, in fact above all other men of science, is a child of larger growth. Full of wonder and sympathy, kindness and helpfulness, he wanders weaponless through the world, now across a dark continent, again to cannibal isles, his trustfulness disarming even his wildest fellow-men. He shares their work and play; he elicits their song and story; he enters into their sorrows and fears and hopes; he thence interprets their very dreams. Thus he finds the origins, he penetrates the meanings of their strangest taboos, he traces out their grotesquest symbolisms; often even where the significance of all these had been forgotten by the folk themselves.

All this patient and sympathetic understanding, so meaningless to the cruder teacher and would-be civiliser, and so undesired by the trader and conqueror who follow him, is yet rewarded; and this beyond anticipation. For since Herbert Spencer's day, and even earlier, it has been leading us to the interpretation and comprehension of our own dominant occidental civilisation-medley, from which all these visitors of the savage come. It may be towards its ever-attempted purification, even its needed renewal. For as Anthropology widens and deepens, it finds profound analogies to our own ways and doings, no less than those of simpler peoples: it deciphers positive origins, even of our own customs and institutions, our manners and our laws. It explains the simple origins of the noblest and most civilising arts; and above all, it is throwing new and unexpected light upon the dawning of religions.

In summary then, the beginnings of anthropology, its best applications also, do not really lie in proving, by a ten-thousandth grave-violation, that some people's skulls tend to be long, and others broad. Nor are these even to be sought in such facts as that the bigger the collection of weapons the more curious their variations, even in evolutionary series, interesting though these be. Its true starting point as a living science, its best result also, its growing generalisation therefore, is in that saying current among its true experts—'the more we come to know and understand the savage, the more we respect him, the more even we love him.' Anthropology, here at its best, is thus recovering for the Christian world its longest, its oftenest lost vision, that of the net of Peter. At its conventional worst—that still academically predominant, and especially in this country—it awaits, alike for its revival at home, and for its advance abroad, this renewal of its sympathies. First among the sciences, indeed above all, it needs our Masque: not only for its popular exposition but for its advance, it requires the help of the arts, the literal evocation of each and all the Muses. Of their infancy and growth must it not contain the secrets? is it not even beginning to reveal them? Again, is it not this helpful recovery and return of the Muses that we modern mechanicals and moneyers now most need, more than any past and simpler children of men, for the uplift of our own squalid and disordered civilisation, in so many ways justly pitied by every member of the nature-peoples who has ever visited it?

The symbol and quest of Anthropology has thus and quite literally, to be redeemed, from that death's head and cross-bones which has too often inspired its (and our) 'progress,' throughout its vast yet swiftly narrowing regions of inquiry. Well that its few best

recent workers are truly advancing—yet, alas, as the nature peoples disappear—far beyond their predecessors' mere outward gains of trophy and skull; and this in the measure of their own inward change, of heart aglow.

Thus approached, these long-vanished or now-vanishing children of our race, with their strange yet simple ways, their dances, fancies, fetishes, are seen to present us with the mystery of man, the story of his humble origin. Here is the oldest of Miracle-Plays, that of his birth, his early nurture among the kindly creatures. Here are the legends of his infancy, the temptations and struggles of his youth; here, and oftenest of all, is the tragedy of his martyrdom.

II

How shall we achieve the rehabilitation of less well-armed Races and Peoples in the esteem of others, and above all of our masterful and spreading selves? More simply, how shall we relieve, retrieve ourselves from our old formula—of 'manners none and customs disgusting': or of late, of more brutal brevity still—of 'niggers,' by which our generation, and that of America perhaps even more, go on lapsing, not only from Christianity, but from ordinary manners, and common feeling, from the capacity of open-eyed observation and science, and even the simplest common sense. History tells with what wondering and admiring welcome the first negroes were received in Lisbon in the days of the Navigator; and was it not mainly their open and trusting childlikeness which tempted a later generation to enslave them? Even without our stage, it would be easy to show how even with a grain of knowledge, a spark of honest enquiry, the most despised or so-called backward people appear in wholly new lights: witness the Australians, for whom the

still customarily held ideas are so absurdly, antipodally, mistaken. Enough, however, here for the writer to acknowledge that the interpretation of the Muses of our Hellenic scene, which further study has justified for other high cultures generally, found its origin not in Hesiod, but in discerning in travellers' tales, and with the help of a Toy Exhibition, the few and simple Muses of the Australians.

Does the visitor to a museum—puzzled, guideless, tired as he is—merely say: 'What barbaric costumes! What complicated weapons!' It may be right to think people barbaric in proportion to the complexity of their war-work; but if so, we are hardly the people to say this. So for costumes; if their simplicity be next the fault, is not this our newest gospel of health? There are worse ones.

But his unbridled vices, passions, promiscuities, these surely are what debase the savage? Again mainly, massively untrue, even libellous! Savage morality—now that enquiry begins to follow upon sentence—turns out other than we thought: our eugenists are but mere beginners. As actually occupied, with his colleague of the 'Evolution of Sex' and others, in the various and difficult enquiries into how the vice of cities, the demoralisation of their youth, may be stayed, the writer may fairly ask—Is any light to be obtained from educated bodies — academic, governmental or local? As yet no ray. From schools? A little. From Churches? Too little; and these seldom Protestant. From Medicine? Too little also. From Law? Zero. From savage and seeming simple folk? Most of all:—and not as to fundamentals merely: ideals also. One main statement of the task of remoralisation of cities, and with

this of the renewal and application of ethics from its learned paralysis, is in fact that of the recovery of what are essentially the initiation-sacraments of the savage. Thus take the epoch-making and inspiring 'Adolescence' of President Stanley Hall. No one knows better than the author himself, that the advance he is forcing our reluctant, taboo-ridden civilisation to make, is but a fresh evidence of how, when the occident imagines itself in the van of humanity, it is sometimes because it has fallen so far into the rear.

But the superstitions, the taboos, the bogeys and terrors of the savage, surely we shall have him on these grounds? So thinks his civilised prosecutor. So far granted; one of our scenes has shown this to the plainest of our power. But who are we to cast stones? It is no far fetched suggestion of meaning, but a plain reminder, that these child-folk, quailing, fleeing before their bogey, are also showing forth ourselves, and ours. What difference is there, the more we think of it? the more we see how we surround our whole lives by fear-bogeys, and of these far more than the savage. Witness poverty, only for simplest, not to speak of foolisher, wickeder, more complicated ones.

Sartor gives us his Masque and Philosophy of Clothes as history of civilisation; and it is much, but not enough. But civilisation as 'The Masque of Learning!' Alas! for too much of our civilisation, might it not be nearer the truth to scheme it all out a second time, and now as 'The Masque of Bogeys?' And this in no mere passing jest, but as a fresh play of our lives. Why not then also as prologue, towards the Miracle-play of our emancipation?

It is plainly time to pause, lest this new Masque begin to frighten our present circle, at any rate before it is time. Enough if it be granted that we have at

least begun to justify our thesis—that of our Outlook Tower 'World-storey,' since its beginnings—that of the popularisation of Anthropology and Archæology. All this so treated as to renew our human feelings for our simpler fellows—to awaken ourselves to the past evils and present shortcomings of our own lives; and so go forth afresh upon life's pilgrimage—each to recover its high Heritage, and to seek out release from its accompanying Burden. It is thus no hackneyed saying, that a touch of kindness makes the whole world kin, but a prophecy, which needs all that anthropology can bring towards its fulfilment. Place then, and players, for the approaching Masque of Man!

The Masque of Babylon and Assyria

Our initial scene has suggested how we may here with peculiar simplicity outline some of the broadest features of the origins and development of civilisation, and even interpret much of its history, as the story of the 'Valley Section,' and of the interaction of its nature-occupations, and especially of peasant below and hunter above. Further for the origins of town life, from its simple developments upon the agricultural plain.

We next come to details. Since Layard's startling discoveries, the possibilities of Mesopotamian archæology have been seen. Hence excavations proceed, from their direct relation to Biblical studies and antiquities are especially supported from this country and America, but with no small interruptions from lack of means. Yet why should research societies always hunt for subscriptions in one quarter, and then publish their learned work mainly in another, when they might

so readily, as Masquers, widely popularise their science, and even, with good fortune earn something towards its living as well!

Here a comparative question arises. It is now a good many years since M. Terrien de la Couperie, having committed the indiscretion of interesting himself not only in Cuneiform, but in Chinese also, suggested their fundamental correspondence — and common origin. He simply and ingeniously explained their difference of aspect, as in principle determined by the contrast of the sharply linear and angular scratches of a stylus, even in clay, with the wavy and flowing lines, which arise through painting with a brush on absorbent rice paper: though military sternness and strength on one hand, peasant leisure and old age on the other may have something to do with emphasising this contrast. But neither Assyriologists nor Sinologists were to be so easily lured out of their depth. M. Terrien, henceforth unemployed, quietly starved; and too few, even of scholars, seem even to have heard its author's name, still less know whether this bright hypothesis has been verified or no.

Since archaeological and biblical interests are here so various, let us next insist a moment upon the scientific. The astronomer prizes his too few existent Chaldean observations, and would gladly find more in the brick libraries still doubtless below ground. And so for other studies. Medical literature already abounds; and though at first sight it may seem uninteresting enough—a medley of herbalism, quackery, magic and what not — it may yet be winnowed. There are grounds for suspecting it may reward the speculative physician. Long before the germ theory was at all popularised, and a good many years before

Koch's discovery of the bacillus of tuberculosis, an Assyriologist, deciphering his bricks, tranquilly noted down and printed in his volume, that 'the wasting sickness is communicated by the sputum of the patient.' He went quietly on without a suspicion of the world-significance of this in detail for modern life, and in general towards the explanation of that persistence of great city-populations in health for long ages, from which we western moderns seem still too far.

Correspondingly we find that the Egyptian hieroglyphic for plague signifies a rat; though we have only learned to associate these two ideas in very recent years. Yet a third example: 'The pestilence that walketh in darkness' is not a mere literary fear-image, though a vivid one. It is perhaps the most forcible way of impressing upon plain folk that disease-germs are killed by sunlight.

Since the physician as well as the divine may thus learn from Babylon, may not administration and law learn something also? They do. In the literature of historic sociology, there are few more vitally suggestive and educative chapters, than those of Von Jhering, Roman and comparative lawyer, upon Babylonian origins and developments. That politics and philology may profit too, and by other instances than Babel, seems also not impossible; but in these we have no skill.

The Masque of Egypt

The long Masque of Egypt, of all the needed Pageants of Antiquity, is that for which the richest and completest materials exist; and these are

ever accumulating, year by year: thanks to the skilled and strenuous spade-work, the patient studies of increasing and sharpening investigators. All the more, therefore, the expression of their results cannot end with the enrichment of museums, the publication of monographs, or the giving of lectures: all these are but a beginning. For the real problem is to permeate the mind—the educated mind, the public mind, the world's mind—with a comprehension of the drama of ancient Egypt, and an intelligent and detailed recognition of its significance—and this again not as merely in the past; but as still living on in the present, even as affecting the future. Each of these it is indeed doing; in various and demonstrable ways, whether as yet generally recognised or no; hence doubtless in ways as yet unseen also. Of this vastest of all chronologic sequences in the world's history, the records and monuments, as above noted, are being unweariedly recovered, studied, and reconstructed and set forth, at once in museum and in text, with wealth of clear illustrations and colour-reproduction Great and growing, therefore, is the treasury upon which, as Masquers, we have to draw. Yet nowhere more than from this richest of ancient histories we must select; and this from each needed point of view. Our Egyptian group has been already fortunate in combining the needful elements of Egyptological learning, artistic and dramatic skill and intensity; may it not therefore look forward to developing its present initiative, until in some future and not too distant year, the Masque of Egypt may be presented with this threefold appeal?

Beyond even the direct and characteristic, well summarised and typical presentment of its times,

events and types, which each and every main group of our present Masque has for its immediate problem, there arise for its adequate conception and comprehension, larger questionings, of the kinds so often suggested or emphasised throughout this booklet and its fellow, and thence interwoven, alike in general and particular, throughout both Masques' design. Geographic and historic enquiries and comparisons, interpretations and suggestions, pass onwards into sociological ones, and these have to be pursued to their wider relations, temporal and spiritual.

Our two Egyptian scenes above are already chosen and presented in this spirit: for where better than in the Masque of Egypt, be this on small scale or great, can we see life more clearly, as the great game ever played between two essential sets of conditions—the material and the ideal, the fundamental and supreme? For our first scene, that of labour in one of its characteristic problems, the fundamental material conditions were naturally the more obviously in evidence: for the second, the Funeral scene, the latter, the ideal conditions. Yet great deities —Isis, Thoth—were shown presiding above the peasants' toil. Again, as the student of religion searches into the divine ideals, he finds these not a little associated with generalised aspects of natural conditions and their interaction—of Soil and River, Desert and Sun.

Does any one still think the story of Egypt only a learned puzzle, and the furthest-fetched at that? Any still as a winter-sport for Cookists, warm instead of cold? Our developed Masque of Egypt would help all such, even the most fiercely 'practical'; and this, in many ways, literally ranging from one end of the Empire to the other, and in business and

politics alike. Start then, even at its end remotest from Egypt, and nearest business. One of our foremost sculptors has pointed out, in vigorous missionary discourses and epistles to the Aberdonians, that the problem of its best-known industry, that of granite-working, is neither to imitate paper nor polish; nearly though their triumph in this style may, for the time being, deceive a public educated on nothing more solid. Their real, and in every sense enduring success, he tells them, must none the less depend upon their recovering that sense of the qualities, and of the limitations, of their noble material, in which the Egyptian sculptor, despite all the havoc of time, has left evidence so perfect, in works so simple, yet to this day unsurpassedly sublime. Next turn to the statesmen of Empire. What more economic task has ever been attempted, within its whole range and record, than this of renewing that work of Nile-control, of irrigation and desert-reclamation which was the early, and the sustained, and the expanding achievement of Egyptian science and government? Civil engineering, and here at its very best, may thus be described as the very type, as well as the agency of an Egyptian renascence, and this in many senses. First of course that simplest agricultural renewal which none but recognise as the desert blossoms: thence to the growth of population and wealth; and next from the immediate developments and problems these involve onwards. Problems social, intellectual, political; some plainly recognised by practical men, both workers and statesmen, both Egyptian and British; and others more doubtfully foreseen, more dimly suggested, yet none the less real and approaching. The Indian or Californian engineer, in his own vast expansion of irrigation and reclamation, recalls his debt to Egypt, and is proud to be in his

way a son of old Nilus: but of wider influences, on State of Water-state, he has hardly reflected, if as yet at all. Yet of these the alternatives, the comparative historian knows, range from utmost servitude to strongest citizenship; from the state of fellahin at their lowest historic abjection, to that of Lombardy in its well-being and strength, of Holland in its unconquerable individuality, of China in its patriarchal persistence—in each and every case the reward of wisdom and virtues based upon peasant labour and its river-control.

So with the ever increasingly urgent tasks of Peace. Beyond and above all the intricacies of our historic wars and congresses, diplomacies and arbitrations, stands the story of Egypt; and this both as regards the lessons of its decline, and the potentialities and suggestions of its incipient renewal.

So far then it may be conceded that our Masque—as type of vividly realised Egyptian studies, and thence of their wider bearings, may have practical importance as well as educational interest. What of the religious significance on which our scenes have already laid such stress? Or—avoiding this question for the present, as too far-reaching for present limits—what of her quaint hieroglyphics? Can these have any bearings and use for moderns? Surely they are superseded for good, along with their beginnings, in the picture-writing of savages? Say rather—as surely as all these must return! For from elementary schoolroom to university laboratory and study, are not graphic notations advancing anew, to generalise (that is, dominate) the verbal and auditive ones? Take a single instance. The to most students comparatively modern problem of the classification of the sciences, so long and especially a central problem of

our Outlook Tower since its beginnings twenty and more years ago, has been there expressed from the very first in terms of the obelisk and essentially hieroglyphic symbols of one of its few stained windows. Not even the occultist, with all his Egyptian reverence, has yet adequately realised the potencies of such notations. Still seldomer has he, or his antithesis yet complement the official scientist, commonly so contemptuous of occultisms, so indifferent to hieroglyphics, realised that his own diagrams—the 'conceptual shorthand' of Karl Pearson's happy phrase—are becoming more and more nearly akin to those of Egyptian mystery. The Egyptologist, though he may not yet enough realise it, as he deciphers, still more as he tries to write for himself, is not only working parallel to the notations of science, but sometimes even in advance of them. More: he is preparing for a fresh treatment of philosophy; he is contributing to a potent and far-reaching calculus of life; and with this even an organon of speculative theology, of mystic initiation. All these high syntheses have again as of old, to be rewritten, and now, as soon as may be, in what are truly hieroglyphics;—at first doubtless by the initiated for the initiated, yet thus made plain. It is an old and simple paradox: for after all how better can we ensure that he who runs may read?

Our projected Masque of Egypt has thus not only many meanings, but applications to modern life perhaps no less manifold. Take one more, this time concrete and generally known—the approaching submergence of the glorious temple-group of Philae, so long the very cynosure of Egyptian travel. All protests and endeavours to save this have failed, whether made on ground of Egyptological interest and arch-

æologic piety, of historic importance, of artistic beauty or religious tradition. The Egyptian Government has not only taken its decision, but well-nigh completed the work; so that all dissentient voices have now died away into regrets, mostly sullen and silent, yet at times pathetic and pungent, as with Pierre Loti. What then is left for our Masque to do?—save perhaps to arrange a scene of sunset, with the historic columns sinking beneath the rising flood —or for the spectator to muse on its melancholy symbolism? Moreover, must we not after all candidly admit that, with all their Philistinism, the Government and its engineers are in the right? A venerable monument is much, but a fertilised and extended Egypt is far more. To shrink from admitting this would be false to our whole presentment of the march of civilisation, whose emancipation from the dead hand of the past is so essentially our theme. Yet it is when thesis and antithesis have alike been clearly stated, that synthesis can have its turn; and here the synthesis is plain. Let us have fertility first, and save these temples too. In Edinburgh, and in London also, our little group has had experience, not only of saving historic buildings, but of moving, stone by stone, what could not be preserved in place: witness the recent rebuilding of Crosby Hall, demolished in the City, upon the next most appropriate possible site, that of More's actual garden in Chelsea. The temples of Philae would present in some respects a simpler task: let us then boldly renew the suggestions of this, which have too much fallen out of sight? Let us actually make it a definite purpose of our Masque of Egypt to strengthen public opinion, by recitals in this country, and if need be also in Cairo, until the Philae temples have been lifted stone by stone, and replaced—as is perfectly possible with

ordinary care and skill—upon the appropriate site hard by? In this connection the concluding scene of the present Masque of Ancient Learning will be seen to have suggestiveness—that continuing the story of the Celtic past by the reverent erection of the Monument of St Columba upon its appropriate site, and this within the reasonably immediate future.

The Masque of Israel

The Masque of Israel at its fullest would indeed be long; in fact here above all a whole succession of masques suggest themselves, probably to most minds most easily.

It is not a little strange that in our cities as yet the Jewish communities, although often prosperous and always with an unusual proportion of talent, especially musical and frequently dramatic, should not ere now themselves have presented the essentials of their striking history to the world, and this for the sake of the education of their own rising generation, as well as for that increased sympathy and understanding of the Christian public, which could not but result from it. Our few scenes already express the beginning of a co-operation from Jewish students of the University, and fuller developments may naturally come with time. Even in Edinburgh—despite the popular impression that there are no Jews in Scotland—there are three Synagogues. The practical absence of any intolerance in Britain towards the Jewish community is not a little due to the sympathetic understanding which has been infused by the Reformers and by the inestimable Authorised Version in which their labours culminated. The Bible, and the Old Testament on the whole more generally than the New, has thus been for three centuries our fundamental textbook, both of social history and of biographic development.

So general is this national tradition, and apart from denomination, that though vivid and forcible expositions of the value of Biblical instruction have naturally been made by divines and teachers of each denomination, these might well agree that there are few more glowing, and perhaps none more convincing for the man in the street, here so primarily concerned, than that of the late Professor Huxley, as member of the London School Board.

What other literature affords such a wealth of plans and plots of life? From cosmic and human origins onwards, through Patriarchal ages and Mosaic traditions, through tales of Judges and chronicles of Kings, books of the Law and the Prophets, of Psalms and Wisdom—what variety of subject and detail, what intensity of contrast, what richness of scenic possibilities, from simplicity to splendour. What multitudinous types of personality; and above all, what high and sustained moods of the spirit. What dramatic vicissitudes; from pastoral simplicity to Egyptian bondage, and once more to Bedouin freedom in the wilderness; thence, through conquest, to agricultural settlement and town life; and of this a development which made their little mountain citadel one of the three supreme cities; in its own way unique. Often conquered—it would almost seem easily—exiled, dispersed, they yet fought immortal wars of Independence under the Maccabees, and made the hardest resistence the Romans met in all their history. And though since the siege of Jerusalem they have never had means or place to fight again, but have had to endure new dispersals, harder captivities, they have ever and anon renewed that higher warfare for which the broken spirit forges afresh and tempers with tears the broken sword.

Learning and scholarship, philosophy, metaphysics and ethics, music and mathematics, medicine and pharmacy, all owe high debts to Israel, and this through the darkest ages, in medieval and in renaissance times, and again to-day; Jewish learning might thus make no small pageant of its own. And the Jewish Encyclopædia stands ready: learning and science are but strong meat for artist and dramatiser.

Return however to that spiritual evolution of Israel which is her central greatness. Recall the song of the Hebrews in one scene of their captivity. Apart even from religion, realise its temporal significance. The direct transmission to other peoples of their example of ennoblement through defeat and suffering has been one of the greatest services to the world of Israel's memorable captivity. France in the Hundred Years War, Scotland after Flodden, perhaps also Hungary after Mohacz, are but instances, among many, of this direct consolation. For something of analogous nation-revival with less direct impulse from Hebrew history, the uplift of Germany after Jena, and, within our own memories, of France after Sedan, are again but the most conspicuous examples. The present victories of the Balkan nationalities over their long oppressor have again much of this element; and a similar process is at work after forty years in Alsace-Lorraine. In the same way foreign eyes report it in Ireland. In Poland, however — some tell us who know its life and its literature, alike so full of poignancy, of well-nigh broken, yet unconquerable, hope — is the supreme example of modern times, perhaps since Israel itself.

Of the Masque of Israel, and its appeal beyond all confessional limits, there is thus no doubt. Let

us return to our initial theme—that of utilising this central literature, both for religious and literary instruction and more and more vitally in our national education.

The experience of childhood has too often been less fortunate than in the home teaching of old. The routine grammaticalism of the Renaissance decadence can seldom fail of its deadening influence upon the sermon; hence in fact it is that the evangelist so commonly comes not from a priestly college but from the people. Then came the nineteenth century educational 'system'—that of taking the Renaissance verbalisms, re-formalising and re-memorising them, and then codifying and examining on top of all. All most seductive to the power-loving bureaucrat, enslaving to the submissive pedagogue, illusive to the parent, thus doubly superseded, and—as we may see around us at all ages—soul-destructive to the child. For true education depends beyond all things upon the early arousal and guidance of the emotional life. This, the simplest mother-instinct knows, is fed with song and story; and has been starved beyond all precedent since the 'system' eliminated story, song and mother alike. That such things are now mending does not affect an historic summary; nor has the mending gone far enough.

Bad scriptural instruction has thus often been made worse than none. Whereas, witness for Scotland those few greatest teachers, who will be longest and most gratefully remembered in our annals. Who are they? Not, as most still think, George Buchanan, the great humanist though he was, preparing his ineffective yet disastrous pedant for power and pride, and towards dynastic fall. Nor Buchanan's successors, who have carried on his too inverted torch. Not even those who at this day go on reinforcing their

system from wire-pulling into concrete, those who issue or those who obey the ukases of 'My Lords,' who issue or inspect the passports of their examination or who bow lowest to the purse of millions. For great teachers who have really achieved vital uplifts in Scottish history we think of Robert Burns' old nurse, and Robert Louis', of Walter Scott's kindly aunts and shepherd friends, and the like—in short, the singer and tale-teller, the bardic woman, be she young sibyl or old grand-dame, to whom each rare 'Egeria' is but a return—a natural one as soon as we are ready to allow it. That the pupil may become eminent is but an incidental matter: even the best teachers may have no such immediate and dramatic good-fortune. But wherever the right work is done, it tells on the nation; and in the long run, it finds its share of utterance, even that of genius.

To the schools then, the innumerable scenes and stories of Israel may be safely commended for treatment as dramatic as may be. In such ways better Masques than we could plan will naturally grow.

The Masque of India.

The Masque of India should peculiarly reward presentment upon an adequate scale. For in what civilisation and history do we find so marvellous a development of all the great types and issues of life, and of each to its logical and practical extremes, its vital outcomes? The great castes are examples of this, in their poverty, their wealth, and their elaboration of both. On one side an exuberance of power and splendour, of luxury and pomp, which has ever allured the world's imagination: on the other, a naive simplicity, a cheerful poverty, or a strictness of asceticism, a sternness of self-mortification, each unexampled.

Much of this has been preserved for us in Indian art, which we have long failed even to recognise, much less to penetrate or comprehend. But the artist with Abanindranath Tagore and Mrs Herringham, the teacher with Mr Havell, and the critic with Sister Nivedita and Dr Coomaraswamy, are at length revealing to us its beauty and its significance.

It is a noteworthy character of the civilisation of India, and from our present point of view especially, that the Pageant still survives. And this neither as a memory or a mimicry of public life, but as its culminating feature—witness the long historic series of Durbars, of which the recent one at Delhi has lately been brought so vividly before us. Yet imperial pageants, even more than civic ones, as yet too exclusively express the temporal side of life; and thus, with all their splendours they fail in making that enduring impression which more spiritual conceptions and purposes alone can give, even with resources comparatively insignificant. The true Pageant of India is thus still to plan. It needs the Durbar's expression of races, regions, cities; but still more that of religions, the coming of ideals, their passing, and their renewing.

For the appeal and world-influence of India, not only in its mighty past, but in recent and present days, and assuredly therefore in its re-opening future—is above all in its clear and sustained idealism. Idealism at every level—from the simplest family relations—as of childhood, of wife and husband, of son and mother—up to the fantastic splendours, the tropic fecundities of its protean symbolisms, the intricate and glowing palimpsests of its innumerable, ever-returning gods. And thence beyond, to high and serene philosophies, each a peak-cluster of snows,

piercing the heavy atmosphere of man's common life —beckoning him, at boldest, to the ether; pointing him, even at simplest, to the stars.

A word now of the problems and the significance of India as regards higher education and its institutions. Such interchanges of life and thought, such uplifts of art and vision, even upon less high idealistic levels quite overstep, we are told, the established and necessary curriculum (*i.e.* routine) of our Universities, Indian or British. Such studies 'do not pay': and all institutions proclaim it with one voice; the conquered and submissive, with the authoritative and fallen. Each is intent, as it assures us—in phrase even more perfect than it knows—upon 'the necessity of maintaining a uniform level.'

Is it not time publicly to recognise the fact, since as individuals none deny it—that, apart from exceptions, such would-be educational machineries are not functioning as Universities to any real extent, and so far as their main work goes? On all sides it is admitted that not only the Indian form of Western Higher Education, so called, but also the home institutions upon whose models that education was cast, are admittedly failing? Why, then, let them go on as we do, year after year, creaking down traditional ruts? Let us at least take stock of them. And if, as again no thinking man denies, their and our official system be essentially of precedents and routine, and the corresponding curriculum be undeniably a medley, indeed a jumble, of medieval, renaissance and utilitarian survivals, half-precious, half-decayed, with new, and still unorganised specialisms, why not now recognise the fact publicly no less than privately? Why not prepare to transform it, alike in India and at home? The early Victorian Philistines, from

whose Futilitarianism we are at length so bitterly revolting, had at least the courage of their convictions. Why not we of ours?

Because we are still lacking in conviction; and without conviction courage can be but rashness. 'On ne detruit que ce qu'on remplace.' Hence it is that 'University Reform' even in Scotland, where it is not least needed, is no longer the slogan it was. For constructive statesmanship synthesis and inspiration are alike indispensable, and both are as yet to seek.

We return then to our Masque, with its retrospect, its confrontation of the essentials of Indian and of Occidental thought. For now, when we come to our Western origins, we shall find them more Oriental then we knew. Aristotle, although our foremost system-maker, was never a curriculum-enforcer. His master, Plato, was no mere professor, tutor or don; but a Guru. Above all, Socrates, though, beyond all men, remembered in history as the questioner, was never an examiner: he lived and laboured as a birth-helper of the spirit, not a chooser of spirits slain.

What if it be to this Hellenic and Indian level that our educational life, and even its essential organisation, in occident and in orient, must again be simplified, and thus uplifted? When our existing systems are functioning cerebrally at all, is it not in the measure of some such survival or recovery, here and there, of this living contact of mind with mind, of ardour and experience, of youth and age, as even our best regulated institutions can never wholly suppress, most nearly in history though they now approach this? Thus it is that the most pioneering of living pedagogues and of American University educationalist-principals has defined the University—that of past, present, future—as 'an association of picked adole-

scents with picked senescents'—(not senilescents). In short, re-enter Guru and disciples, master and scholars: exeunt Chancellors, University Courts and Boards, for their season of meditation, too long delayed. The Academe was of this high simplicity, and again must be: only thus can arise the Symposium, with its yet higher and maturer converse.

With such a revival of Indian education—and there are increasing signs of it, and even beginnings—our Indian Masquers will more than ever offer us, from their ample repertory, things new as well as old.

The Masque of Hellas

MANIFOLD indeed are the *Masques of Hellas* which suggest themselves for our growing collaboration—of library and museum, studio and stage; of school, university and city. Our three main groups here shown and above interpreted—say, rather, sketched and shadowed—which we may respectively call the Primitive and Poetic, the Mythopoetic, and the Historic—might readily expand into a veritable Trilogy; and each with its appropriate mode of presentment and of music.

Yet of these three the order might sometimes with advantage be reversed. For to the modern temper, which even the schoolboy brings—with its poverty alike of primitive experiences and poetic ones, but with some historic feeling and openness to the conception of human progress the historic achievements of Greece, and our heritage from her, are more immediately of interest than are her early developments, or their poetisation; unfamiliar also, as these are, from their Mediterranean conditions and their

historic remoteness. But for any child awakening to historical and cultural interests, what more vivid beginning than with her Persian War of Independence, so fundamental to the whole story of Europe? Another traditional and in its way no less excellent beginning is with Plutarch's Lives, as introduction to her unparalleled succession and variety of great individualities.

By whatever means an active and studious interest is once aroused, it may be richly nourished. The scholar contributes his critical editions; the museum exhibits its treasures; and the great plays are revived, alike in translation and in original. The traditional level of learned scholarship and appreciative culture may thus be attained. Yet this no longer reaches the higher standard of a modern university, which increasingly demands personal activity and labour, and looks for specific contributions to knowledge in this or that department.

Yet though original research is and must ever continue indispensable, and each graduate should thus develop and prove his powers, this in its turn now no longer satisfies us. For the advancement of knowledge is seen to require something beyond that increase and elaboration of the articles of the Great Encyclopædia, to which our specialist enquiries are directed. We must keep pace with the changing world, from which well-nigh every main transformation of our learned cloister has actually come. For a time practical material advances, sometimes truly Promethean, or again Hippocratic, sufficed for this. At first such advances, scientific and practical, have seemed unfriendly to Greek studies, and conversely; yet here is a point of importance—mainly where the Greek scholar insists above all upon his formal and

grammatical tradition from the Renaissance decadence, and where the 'Science,' pure or applied, is arrested upon the narrowly specialistic levels or that of its commercial application. But now new advances, are in progress; for the sciences in terms of their history and evolution, for affairs under the guidance of a new and constructive spirit—that of a realistic economics and politics, of rural and urban development. But this is to say that the encyclopedic and the political interests of Aristotle, the idealism of the New Republic also are approaching their renewal upon our modern spiral. Further, that the constructive attitude of Xenophon for the country, and the ambitions of Pericles for the city are no less reappearing as well. Thus the quarrel of 'classical' and 'modern' sides has now to be forgotten; and their exponents reunited into the culture and service of their city, henceforth more and more clearly understood in neo-Hellenic terms. With historic Greek cities like Salonika at this very time—looking forward, through blood and tears, to a renewal of their ancient glories, who but can doubt that a new uplift of the Hellenic City has begun? Already this is in progress far beyond old Greece; for wherever a culture-city stands, a University flourishes, there truly is a colony of Hellas. And whoever knows how truly Pallas came from the olive-yards of Attica, and the Wisdom of Solomon from the terraces around Jerusalem, will no longer wonder over renewing idealism and developing architecture in the corresponding region of California. Why should not Wisdom build her house there also; and bring forth from her treasury things new as well as old? Stranger still, in these days has it not come to pass that a Philosopharchon rules in Washington? Yet with the renewal of Cities old and new alike, and to

efficiency and idealism together, his appearance is no mere accident or marvel, but a normal victory, a new and significant factor in his own country's advance, and even the world's. The Greek age thus 'begins anew; the golden years return.'

But if so, with such an historic uplift the renewal of the Mythopoetic age is also nearing. Does this seem a hard saying? Not in our Masque, with its Gods and Muses, and its corresponding theories of them; of the gods as the idealisations of the phases of life—that is the conception essential to eugenics—and of the Muses as the expression of the high activities of life. But if such conceptions of life—biological psychological and evolutionary—are thus evolving Gods and Muses anew, is not this some beginning of the Mythopoetic? Can such things come from the mere grovelling votaries of science? the scholar may ask; but that is not criticism, much less argument. But let us begin then anew, with scholarship at its brightest, say at Athens itself and with Renan's immortal 'Prière sur l'Acropole,' and thence pass to Anatole France's 'Réponse de la Déesse.' From these the return of Pallas with the age of science will be clear.

Finally since the realistic view of life, scientific and practical, which has led us to gods and muses, has set out from the homely conceptions of nature and labour, of place, work, and folk, we see that the world of primitive occupations is also reached, and with this surely the poetic: here all literature is in accord with life.

Enough then for our present purpose if the essentials of a Greek repertory, satisfactory alike to Hellenist and to evolutionist be admitted as practicable. For the writer there has been no more encouraging result

of these beginnings—because an earnest of their aim and purpose being increasingly carried out—than that the very scheme to which this outline and its associated brief introduction to the Roman repertory and its possibilities are intended to lead up and initiate, should have been anticipated before these pages have been completed for press. Yet so it is; by the suggestion from one of the most distinguished of our Scottish teachers of Latin and students of Roman history, to collaborate with a correspondingly learned and helpful Greek brother, towards the development of our present beginnings, into a fuller 'Masque of Greece and Rome.' From the practical point of view this is of course the next and sufficient step: in good time fuller treatments of each will naturally arise.

The Masque of Rome

For *The Masque of Rome* we need not follow the retrogressive method suggested for the Trilogy of Hellas. For since by it put in touch with early beginnings, we can at once start from the ancient hill villages of which those of Capitol and Palatine became but chief. The intervening marsh is drained for market-place. The Pontifex bridges the Tiber; the hero again defends its downthrow. The market-place evolves as Forum, and its homely road becomes the Sacred Way. Curia and Temples arise; and, only too richly, patrician houses, palaces also; until imperial Rome culminates as world-capital. It falls, yet to rise in new Empires, Germanic and spiritual, whose struggle is prolonged through medieval into modern history.

As each period has found those elements in Greece which its own civilisation was learning to value and

idealise, so also with Rome. Thus each new Empire —Germanic, Austrian, Russian, French, German, even American—has borrowed its eagles. But now a new age of citizenship is arising in well-nigh every country, and perhaps (who knows?) now nearing a second renascence in the free City of Constantinople; which would thus become in many ways New Rome once more. For Rome was not the mere military empire, the impersonal bureaucracy, nor the city of pleasure, and what not which too many modern comparisons and imitations suggest. She was—above all —'The City.' Yet to recover this all essential conception, not only for Latin studies, but for our own lives, is no easy matter—especially for us, for whom this supreme achievement and noblest word of social life—'The City'—have alike fallen, until it is the enlargement of the London Ghetto which is thus suggested to many minds. Suffice it here to insist on something beyond even civic morals, beyond all duties of citizen to city, deeply though these were interpreted and inculcated of old and must be again. The essential conception of the City was a religious one—the City as a great being, a personality of higher order than the individual, as the tree is greater than the leaf; yet as none the less truly living, and with a far more continuous and essential life. A civic conception at once so simply organic and so essentially religious, it is not easy for us moderns again to reach, still less to maintain: but its value is thereby all the more justified; and the need of recovering it. The word ROMA, must not that become the school-child's first lesson? and S.P.Q.R. the second? Again, for the close of School, for the entrance to College, and above all for the entry upon Life—CIVIS ROMANUS SUM.

From these two foci, we may well nigh also plan

out the needed Masque of Cities. From them also this vast orbit of classical studies may vitally be recovered, and Roman authors once more understood and enjoyed; by the body of the public no doubt mainly in the vernacular, yet for the few, soon many, who would desire it, even philologically instructed from. The Renaissance decadence which still so much blights our schools, and and which has mistaken for its two foci, for the child the first declension, and for the teacher the 'latest reading,' with resultant dumbness for both accordingly, will thus at length pass away. Yet not in favour of chemistry or workshop merely, as the bogey is, or used to be. With the coming in of a scientific education, it is civics which is in the first practical place as applied science, and sociology the dominant intellectual one. Under this coming dispensation classical studies will again recover their meaning, and become truly classical; and their paralysis disappear. Roman studies thus restored in their due place, Latin will increasingly be added to them; even again become a spoken language. Why not even, to a simple yet real extent, in our coming Masque of Rome?

The Masques of Celtia

The Masques of Celtia will yet be manifold. Celtic studies are truly classic, and that for more than Highlanders or Irish, Welsh or Bretons separately; indeed in certain ways they are second only in significance and value to those of Greece herself, and deeply connected with them. Old English stories begin but vaguely, with 'once upon a time'; but the Celtic 'when Beauty, the daughter of the King of Greece, came to Erin.' Hence they are of interest

and value to the scholarship of the world, and their eminent cultivation in Paris, Vienna, and at present perhaps above all in Berlin, is thus not to be wondered at. What is at once marvellous and deplorable is that so few schools of Celtic studies as yet exist among ourselves. Unless we lack recent information, Oxford, Cambridge, and even Trinity College, Dublin, still remain in ignorance and destitution. In Scotland we have only one single Chair founded by the exertions of the late Professor Blackie, and a Glasgow lectureship; but in Liverpool, in Wales and in the New University of Ireland there has been more active progress.

In the present Masque, so largely connected with University Hall, its early and warm friend Professor Blackie must naturally be remembered; and this beyond the Blackie House we have named after him. But more especially in any consideration of Celtic studies may his vivid insight and vital initiative, and these upon the highest university levels—those in which the spirit of language, the life of civilisation, are again raised above their letter and detail—be commemorated, than for that championship of Celtic studies to which we owe their introduction to Edinburgh University. To develop these studies, even if it may be to win primacy in them from Berlin or Paris, from Cardiff, from Liverpool, even from Dublin itself, is surely a legitimate ambition for Scottish scholars.

But towards the actual designing of Masques of Celtia, so much would have to be said that it is best not here even attempted. Let us rather imagine another Celtic gathering, this time of poets and bards, musicians and artists, of historians, scholars and folklorists, of educationalists also. From Anatole Le Braz and his Breton colleagues, and similarly from Ireland,

from Wales, from the Highlands, let us invite suggestions and contributions, and thus prepare a Pan-Celtic Masque. This in its turn would lead to the planning of a distinctive Masque for each group, and thus a worthy Tetralogy should result, for which Rennes, Cardiff, Dublin, Edinburgh, might in time each present to its growing public. Indeed why not other cities?

CONCLUSION

MASQUERS and audience, or gentle reader afterwards —what are we all but children at play? We flying our kite, one painted Janus-like; you watching it where you sit, and seeing, as we run by, both the grave face and the smiling one. This long string of appended essays, it is plainly to be seen, are but so many tail-papers. They in no wise improve the look of our kite; in fact most playfellows may say, and with truth, that they sadly weigh it down. And for their readableness, especially in such a position, even less can be said. Yet they are concerned with the kite's working, with its balance, its continuance; and therefore with the sport in general. Nor does the parable end here; for this sport, with other ancient things, is in our day renewing, and with fresh applications—lifting young courage up to soaring vision, searching into rarer atmospheres beyond.

Yet a more vital comparison is needed. The breaking up of our initial Masque of Learning, first into two actual pageants, and now into many projected ones, is really a process of development and growth. Even the humble earth-worm, divided by the spade, may become two thereby: but there are fairy sea-worms, which at brief distance among their segments develop tentacles and eyes, each thenceforward a new head, soon to lead off an independent existence. Better still, there is one—well-named Myrianina, and to one naturalist at least a veritable 'Lieblingsthier'—which buds laterally too, and that again and again. From within, this is but a simple ramification, an organic development, and a coming individuation also. Yet at this stage, viewed from without, it appears but a medley of beginnings, a tangle of disorder, and worse

—its immature half-blind growths twisted with fractured, writhing ends, the Gorgon's snaky hair.

Yet the willows whose gentle weeping gives our garden-lakes their sheen, are all but cuttings from a single wand, fetched from far eastern waters. And it is by its budding that the magic rod of Moses—at first stern, destructive, even serpentine—lives on for ever, and points beyond the alluring tree of knowledge, to the burning bush of life.

To such high imageries of life and light the Mystery and Miracle-players of the middle age were wont boldly to turn. So in their own way, the fruitful beginnings of the Greek drama. These, as we may still see among simple surviving peoples, dealt at once with the highest that they knew, yet showed this interacting with the simplest. The powers of nature, the processes of labour, the phases and crises of life, were all frankly treated, yet their ideals also —now as immanent, again as transcendent, and each by turns made plain for the simple, left veiled for the wise. So ever with history—tribal and racial for the semi-barbaric—regional, civic, cultural, human, for the civilized. To these unfailing springs of eld we therefore rightly return. And from their high outlook we see that we are among the beginnings of a fresh and freshening world-movement; amid the sources of a stream, to which ours is but one of many converging brooklets, and on which our coloured, world-reflecting masque is but a bell upon the foam.

What is this movement? One of renewals, general and manifold: a re-valuation of life in all its aspects, a transvaluation of well nigh all existing values. From our present standpoint, and for its purpose, it is plainly one of more and more fully Dramatised

Education: and this with each word in its fullest classic sense and historic tradition, then raised to welding-heat and forged anew into one.

How in practice may this be effected? Living teachers are already asking this everywhere; and answering as well; now psychologically, now practically. Towards practical and experimental solutions the renewal of pageantry, the modern uplift of drama, the child-gardens since Frœbel are obvious examples. This threefold convergence of city, theatre and school, we are now seeking to effect more fully; in action, in consciousness too, and even in conscience. These Masques are our present contribution towards this; and of the preceding suggestions of the vast Repertory of history, some may germinate and be realised here or elsewhere, as circumstances may allow. As already mentioned under the head of the Greek repertory, preparations for elaborating a Græco-Roman Masque may soon begin; and similarly perhaps for others. Such schemes are thus not Utopian but Eutopian. Between our City with her heritage of history, her command of all the arts, our University and Colleges with their varied learning, science, skill, we have evidently the resources we require. In each individual life and education worth the name these are ever being selected from, assimilated, made effective anew. To link up these resources more fully, to diffuse them more generally, to direct them more definitely towards the life of citizenship on one hand, of, inward culture upon the other—such have been the long and growing endeavours of our Outlook Tower, but now they are far more fully within the possibility and province of its Masquers.

Consultation of authorities, searchings in museums

and libraries, are of course indispensable. Yet were this all our work would lack life and be but compilation and pastiche. Nor is mere fitful and sporadic evocation enough, as of heterogeneous memories from the witch-pot, or individual phantasies from the grimoire. Its psychology must be richer, fuller, deeper. Dramatised Education needs the collaboration of artist and teacher, and each at their best, say rather of artist-teachers and teacher-artists. For all who take part, whether as players or spectators, it is obviously an awakening of imagination, and to fuller creative activities. It is an evolutionary synthesis in the making; and a manifold and ever-increasing collaboration towards its expression. For vital effect, the whole has to be infused by a common idealism, at once artistic, philosophic, and social, and applied towards the enrichment of the City's life, through the diffusion of its past Heritage, and the appreciation of its opening Future.

J'ai feint que des Dieux m'aient parlé;

. . . . . .

Face invisible! je t'ai gravée en médailles
D'argent doux comme l'aube pâle,
D'or ardent comme le soleil,
D'airain sombre comme la nuit;
Il y en a de tout métal,
Qui tintent clair comme la joie,
Qui sonnent lourd comme la gloire,
Comme l'amour, comme la mort;
Et j'ai fait les plus belles de belle argile
Sèche et fragile.

Une à une, vous les comptiez en souriant,
Et vous disiez: Il est habile;
Et vous passiez en souriant.

Aucun de vous n'a donc vu
Que mes mains tremblaient de tendresse,
Que tout le grand songe terrestre
Vivait en moi pour vivre en eux
Que je gravais aux métaux pieux,
Mes Dieux,
Et qu'ils étaient le visage vivant
De ce que nous avons senti des roses,
De l'eau, du vent,
De la forêt et de la mer,
De toutes choses
En notre chair,
Et qu'ils sont nous divinement.

HENRI DE REGNIER,
Les Médailles d'Argile.

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